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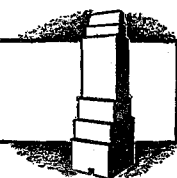
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The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement: A Re-Evaluation*

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

SOMETIMES a single essay, a monograph, or a series of lectures makes historiographical history. It was so in 1893 when Frederick Jackson Turner read his paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." It was so again in 1913 when Charles A. Beard published his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. And it was so in 1925 when J. Franklin Jameson delivered his four lectures at Princeton on "The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement."

At first glance the comparison with Turner and Beard may seem strained. We are accustomed to think of Jameson as a scholar's scholar, a kind of indispensable historical midwife—curator and editor of manuscripts, director of other men's research, editor of the *American Historical Review*—not as a path-breaker, an innovator. But this is to do him less than justice. *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* stands as a landmark in recent American historiography, a slender but unmistakable signpost, pointing a new direction for historical research and interpretation. Before Jameson, the

* Read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, held at the University of California at Davis, December 28-30, 1953.

American Revolution had been a chapter in political, diplomatic, and military history, a story of Faneuil Hall and Lexington, Independence Hall and Valley Forge, Versailles and Yorktown. After Jameson, it became something different, something greater—a seismic disturbance in American society, a sudden quickening in the American mind.

The American Revolution, like the French, Jameson believed, was accompanied by social and cultural changes of profound significance.

The stream of revolution, once started, could not be confined within narrow banks, but spread abroad upon the land. Many economic desires, many social aspirations were set free by the political struggle, many aspects of colonial society profoundly altered by the forces thus let loose. The relations of social classes to each other, the institution of slavery, the system of landholding, the course of business, the forms and spirit of the intellectual and religious life, all felt the transforming hand of revolution, all emerged from under it in shapes advanced many degrees nearer to those we know.¹

No more than Turner's or Beard's was Jameson's notion wholly new. Just a year earlier, in his massive volume on *The American States during and after the Revolution*, Allan Nevins had devoted fifty pages to the task of demonstrating in impressive detail that "a social and intellectual revolution" occurred between Lexington and Yorktown.² Nearly twenty years before, Carl Becker had described the Revolution as a twofold contest: for home-rule on the one hand, for "the democratization of American politics and society" on the other.³ As far back as 1787, Benjamin Rush had perceived that the American revolution was bigger than the American war, that the real revolution was in "the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens," and that, far from being over, that revolution had only begun.⁴

Jameson's view of the Revolution was not new, but no one hitherto had marshaled the evidence so compactly, conveyed it so lucidly, or argued from it so persuasively. Perceptive historians immediately greeted his little volume as a gem of historical writing—"a truly notable book," Charles A. Beard called it, "... cut with a diamond point to a finish, studded with novel illustrative materials, gleaming with new illumination, serenely engaging in style, and sparingly garnished with genial humor."⁵

¹ *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton, 1926), p. 11.

² New York, 1924, chap. x.

³ *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York* (Madison, Wis., 1909), p. 5.

⁴ *American Museum*, I (1787), 9. Jameson quoted part of this well-known passage but ascribed it, for some reason, to "a writer in South Carolina." *American Revolution*, p. 29.

⁵ *New Republic*, XLVII (Aug. 11, 1926), 344. In the *American Historical Review* discussion of the book was relegated to the "Minor Notices," perhaps because of its brevity, more likely because of the modesty of the managing editor—J. Franklin Jameson. The reviewer, Allan Nevins, called its scholarship "impeccable," its style "polished," its outlook "broad and thoughtful." XXXII (1926-27), 167-68.

The influence of this little book with the long title has grown steadily. A year after its publication, the Beards summarized its thesis in their widely read *Rise of American Civilization*.⁶ Jameson's emphasis on social factors harmonized perfectly with the intellectual and political climate of the 1930's. In 1940, after the author's death, a second edition appeared, and in 1950 a third—an unusual tribute to a set of academic lectures. With the passage of a quarter-century, the book has achieved the standing of a minor classic.⁷ One will find hardly a textbook that does not paraphrase or quote Jameson's words, borrow his illustrations, cite him in its bibliography. The notion of the Revolution as a social upheaval has achieved the final seal of acceptance: it has been taken over by the historical novelists—by such writers as Kenneth Roberts and Howard Fast, to name two rather unlikely bedfellows.

Jameson, one suspects, had no idea he was writing a classic. His aim was simply to challenge American historians by opening new windows on the Revolutionary era, suggesting new directions for future research, throwing out tentative hypotheses for others to test. Over the past quarter-century historians have risen to his challenge with a flood of articles, monographs, academic dissertations, and full-dress histories bearing on one or another of his propositions. But the average textbook-writer, one is tempted to believe, has not got beyond Jameson. The time has come to go back and ask how Jameson's original thesis stands up in the light of all this detailed research; what modifications, if any, must be made; what further extensions, if any, are possible.

Jameson disposed his arguments under four rubrics—the status of persons, the land, industry and commerce, thought and feeling. If we recognize, as he did, that such divisions are purely arbitrary, we may adopt his procedure.

American society, he suggested, was measurably democratized during the Revolution. The upper stratum, the old colonial aristocracy, was largely liquidated—by banishment, voluntary exile, or impoverishment. New groups rose to the surface to take their places. "In most states the strength of the revolutionary party lay most largely in the plain people," and the social changes which they brought about naturally tended "in the direction of level-

⁶ New York, 1927, I, 291-96.

⁷ In a recent poll, in which 103 historians were asked to name the ten best historical works published between 1920 and 1935, Jameson's *American Revolution* got twenty-six votes. The pollster, analyzing the returns, observed that a brief book stood at a disadvantage in the poll but offered the comment, for whatever it might be worth, that Jameson's book showed "the best vote-getting record per word." John Walton Caughey, "Historians' Choice: Results of a Poll on Recently Published American History and Biography," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIX (September, 1952), 293, 299. W. Stull Holt's figures on the number of copies sold—only 1,356 in the quarter-century since first publication—suggest that the book may deserve the name of classic in a Pickwickian sense—a work that everyone knows about but few read. "Who Reads the Best Histories?" *Ibid.*, XL (1954), 617.

ling democracy." Broadening of the suffrage elevated "whole classes of people . . . in their social status," and the revolutionary philosophy of liberty wrought improvements in the condition of the most debased class in America—the Negro slaves.⁸

Recent studies of individual states and regions seem to suggest that Jameson was too sweeping when he equated colonial aristocrats with Loyalists and implied that this group was erased from American society. In eastern Massachusetts it was perhaps true that "a majority of the old aristocracy" emigrated.⁹ But in the central and western part of the state the oldest, most respected families chose the Whig side and remained to perpetuate their local rule in the days of the early Republic.¹⁰ In New Hampshire, except around Portsmouth, society had never been highly stratified, and the Tory emigration bore away few outstanding individuals.¹¹ In Connecticut, where "the native aristocracy of culture, wealth, religion, and politics" tended to be loyal to the crown, at least half of the Tories never left the state. Others were welcomed back even before the war was over. Within six months of the peace treaty, New Haven was openly extending an invitation to former Loyalists to return, and President Ezra Stiles of Yale College was grumbling about efforts "silently to bring the Tories into an Equality and Supremacy among the Whigs."¹² In New York and Philadelphia, many prominent merchants—perhaps the majority—were Loyalists, or at least "neutralists," and they stayed on in such numbers as to give a definite tone to postwar society, politics, and business in these important centers.¹³ In Maryland, the "internal" Revolution turns out to have been a struggle between one group of aristocrats—planters, merchants, lawyers—and another; the "plain people" took little part in the conflict and the resultant social shifts were minimal.¹⁴ In Virginia, of course, most of the "F.F.V.'s" were Whigs, and their control of politics was to continue through the days of the

⁸ Jameson, pp. 25, 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁰ In the inland counties, finds Lee N. Newcomer, "no internal upheaval" accompanied the Revolution. *The Embattled Farmers: A Massachusetts Countryside in the American Revolution* (New York, 1953), pp. 86–87. Nor do the Tories of this region "fit readily into any definite categories or groups." In Ashfield, for instance, the Baptists, whom historians are accustomed to lump among the Whigs, tended to remain loyal because they had found royal authority friendly in their fight against the "standing order." *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹¹ Richard F. Upton, *Revolutionary New Hampshire* (Hanover, N.H., 1936), p. 130.

¹² Oscar Zeichner, "The Rehabilitation of Loyalists in Connecticut," *New England Quarterly*, XI (1938), 308–30. Stiles's comment is found in his *Literary Diary*, ed. F. B. Dexter (New York, 1901), III, 111.

¹³ "The return of former Loyalists to participation in the life and politics of [New York City] was comparatively rapid," concludes Sidney I. Pomerantz, *New York: An American City, 1783–1803* (New York, 1938), p. 90. The early relaxation of the Pennsylvania test laws, originally designed to exclude Loyalists from voting and holding office, undoubtedly hastened the conservative triumph in that state. Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790* (Harrisburg, 1942), pp. 179–80.

¹⁴ Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland during and after the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1943), chap. 1.

"Virginia dynasty."¹⁵ In the North Carolina back country it was the "plain people"—the old Regulators—who were most stubbornly Loyalist.¹⁶ Clearly Jameson's generalizations about the fate of the old aristocracy must be qualified.¹⁷

What about the new democracy of the Revolutionary period? Unquestionably a sense of dignity and importance came to the common man—the small farmer, the town artisan—as a result of his revolutionary activities and the limited extension of the suffrage. But before we can say with assurance how democratic the new society was, we must answer the prior question: how undemocratic was the old? No one will dispute the fact that provincial society was stratified, that class distinctions existed, that political and social equality were hardly dreamed of. A recent brilliant study of electoral practices in colonial Massachusetts raises, however, some questions. By means of ingenious statistical methods and samplings of contemporary opinion, the author of this study has shown rather convincingly that, in the Bay Colony at least, practically all adult males had the vote. Massachusetts society before 1776, he concludes, was "very close to a complete democracy." And he hints of further revisions to come. "As for the 'internal revolution' in other colonies," he says, "—perhaps we should take another look. There is more than a hint in the records that what applies to Massachusetts applies without too much change to other colonies as well."¹⁸

Though the Negro slave received some indirect benefits from the Revolution, the indentured servant, Jameson found, received none. Nor has subsequent research uncovered any important evidence that he overlooked.¹⁹ While he was dwelling on the negative side, Jameson might have mentioned another large dependent class that gained nothing in status as a result of the Revolution. Even before independence was declared, that doughty feminist Abigail Adams was writing to her husband in Congress: "By the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than

¹⁵ See Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1952), chap. 1.

¹⁶ Robert O. DeMond, *The Loyalists in North Carolina during the Revolution* (Durham, N. C., 1940), pp. 34-50.

¹⁷ For a recent summary of the postwar status of Loyalists see Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781-1789* (New York, 1950), pp. 265-81. For a more subtle social analysis of the Tory group than Jameson was able to give in his limited space see Evarts B. Greene, *The Revolutionary Generation* (New York, 1943), pp. 211-30.

¹⁸ Robert E. Brown, "Democracy in Colonial Massachusetts," *New England Quarterly*, XXV (1952), 291-313.

¹⁹ William Miller, "The Effects of the American Revolution on Indentured Servitude," *Pennsylvania History*, VII (1940), 131-41; Samuel McKee, Jr., *Labor in Colonial New York* (New York, 1935), pp. 175-78.

your ancestors." Her husband wrote back, as much in earnest as in jest: "Depend on it, we know better than to repeal our masculine systems."²⁰ It was to be nearly three quarters of a century before the Declaration of Independence would be revised by a group of determined ladies at Seneca Falls to read: "All men and women are created equal." Both negative and positive evidence, then, suggests that the Revolution made less difference in the status of persons in America than Jameson believed.

The doctrine that underlies Jameson's second lecture is, quite explicitly, economic determinism: "political democracy," he says flatly, "came to the United States as a result of economic democracy." The movement for manhood suffrage which reached its fruition in Jacksonian America, he maintains, was rooted in a peculiarly American type of land tenure—the system of small holdings or what he chooses to call "peasant proprietorship." This system the Revolution fixed upon the nation when it swept away the royal restrictions, the archaic manorial laws and usages which had encumbered the land throughout the colonial period. There was, he makes clear, "no violent outbreak," no bloody massacre of landlords as in France a decade later. Still, "in a quiet, sober, Anglo-Saxon way a great change was effected in the land-system of America between the years 1775 and 1795."²¹ Specifically, the changes were of three sorts: the discontinuance of quitrents and of the king's right to mast-trees, the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the confiscation and distribution of the Tory estates.

The importance of the quitrents and the king's "broad arrow" was probably more symbolic than real. Jameson himself admitted this: payment of quitrents, he pointed out, was "largely evaded"; the law giving the king's surveyors the right to reserve the tallest, straightest pine trees for the Royal Navy "was not rigorously enforced."²² Still, no historian will deny the importance of an emotion-laden symbol, and Jameson insists, quite rightly, that the quitrent and the king's "broad arrow" were symbols of an obsolete and alien feudalism, that until they were done away with, private property was not private property.

There is high authority, of course, for attaching great significance to the abolition of primogeniture and entail in Virginia—the authority of Thomas Jefferson. But these gestures too, it now appears, were more important in the

²⁰ Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams during the Revolution* (New York, 1876), pp. 149, 155. Mary Beard points out that the legal subjection of women to men was actually buttressed after the Revolution by the steadily growing weight of Blackstone's authority in the United States. *Woman as Force in History* (New York, 1946), chaps. v, vi. See also Elizabeth Cometti, "Women in the American Revolution," *New England Quarterly*, XX (1947), 329-46.

²¹ Jameson, pp. 41, 42, 48-49.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51.

realm of symbol than of economic reality. In point of fact, neither primogeniture nor entail operated to any important degree in Virginia. Recent research has shown that most estates in the Old Dominion were not entailed but could be freely alienated. And primogeniture was mandatory only if the property-owner died intestate. Most Virginia planters were careful to make wills. By their wills they often distributed their property among all their sons, and sometimes even their daughters. So Jefferson, in the words of his most authoritative biographer, "did not destroy the country gentry as a group with the blows of his mighty ax, and there is insufficient reason to believe that he wanted to." What he did was merely to "remove legal vestiges of Old World aristocracy." The sweeping conclusion reached by a recent student of this problem in Virginia may well apply to other colonies: "No radical change of custom in devising estates resulted from the abolition of primogeniture and entail."²³

On the confiscation of Loyalist lands much has been written of late years. The evidence has not been canvassed for all the states, but a definite conclusion seems to be emerging: that considerably less diffusion and democratization of landownership resulted from the breakup of these estates and their disposition in small parcels than Jameson supposed.

The most intensive study has been centered on the southern counties of New York, where the DeLanceys, the Bayards, the Philipsses held sway in colonial times over their vast baronies. When the revolutionary New York government seized the estates and sold them off, some of the land, to be sure, went to former tenants and other landless individuals. But the bulk of it was bought up by wealthy patriots and merely augmented the domains of rival families like the Livingstons, Schuylers, and Roosevelts. "While it is true," concludes the author of this study, "that the disposal of the loyalist estates effected a greater diffusion of ownership, it is questionable whether it went far toward a radical redistribution of landed wealth and a new social and economic order."²⁴

The same thing seems to have been true in Maryland, where wealthy Whig planters and speculators bought up a large proportion of the desirable Tory lands in Baltimore and Frederick counties. Nor is the story greatly different in western Massachusetts or New Hampshire. The South Carolina confiscation

²³ Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the Virginian* (Boston, 1948), pp. 252-57; Clarence R. Keim, "Influence of Primogeniture and Entail in the Development of Virginia," *University of Chicago, Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series*, V (1928), 289-92.

²⁴ Harry B. Yoshpe, *The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of the State of New York* (New York, 1939), p. 60. Thomas C. Cochran earlier arrived at a similar conclusion in his *New York in the Confederation* (New York, 1932), p. 64. E. Wilder Spaulding, on the contrary, emphasizes the democratizing effects of the confiscations (*New York in the Critical Period* [New York, 1932], p. 70), and feels that Yoshpe's evidence really supports this thesis (see his review of Yoshpe in the *American Historical Review*, XLV [1939-40], 899-900).

law, in the opinion of a contemporary, was actually "so framed that a man who wants land has no chance to get any," for the state required security which only the wealthy landowner could provide.²⁵

The case of North Carolina is instructive. The authority on the Loyalists of that state, noting that the confiscated lands were sold in plots averaging two hundred acres, concludes with Jameson that the confiscations "tended to make the Revolution economic and social as well as political."²⁶ From his own evidence, however, one could draw the equally justified inference that many a wealthy patriot took advantage of the bargain prices to increase his holdings and consequently his social status. The largest Tory estate was that of the great speculator Henry McCulloh—some 40,000 acres. Of the ninety purchasers of McCulloh's lands thirty-four bought more than one tract. Some acquired as many as ten or fifteen, thereby creating estates as large as 5,000 acres. Robert Raiford purchased parcels from five different Tories and put together an estate of more than a thousand acres. The 3,600-acre estate of Thomas Hooper passed almost intact to John McKinsey. Before a final generalization can be made about the social effects of the confiscations in North Carolina, we need to know more about the previous economic status of the purchasers.²⁷

The largest estate to be confiscated in America, as Jameson pointed out, was that of the Penn family. By the Divesting Act of 1779 the Pennsylvania legislature assumed control of twenty-one and a half million acres—all the ungranted lands which by royal charter had belonged to the proprietors. But this proprietary land, from which the Penns had never received any income, was comparable, surely, to the ungranted crown lands which fell into the hands of the other commonwealths. Much more significant is the fact that the private manors, the "proprietary tenths," of the Penns, amounting to more than 500,000 acres, together with the quitrents on them, were specifically "confirmed, ratified and established for ever" in the hands of the Penn family—and this by the most "radical" of all the revolutionary legislatures!²⁸

Clearly, there are two ways of reading the evidence concerning the confiscation and sale of Loyalist lands. Jameson, who was arguing a thesis, chose to stress the "democratizing" effects. But there were other social consequences of an opposite tendency—the aggrandizement of certain individuals and

²⁵ Crowl, chap. II; Newcomer, p. 151; Upton, p. 172; Aedanus Burke to Arthur Middleton, July 6, 1782, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXVI (1925), 203.

²⁶ DeMond, p. 180.

²⁷ The list of real estate confiscated and sold is printed by DeMond in an appendix (pp. 240–50).

²⁸ *The Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1782), p. 260.

families already well entrenched, the opportunities opened for speculation—and we shall not understand all the social results of this great sequestration of lands until we assess these as well.

In particular, until someone has studied the social effects of land speculation in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary era as Professor Paul W. Gates has done for a later period, we shall not know whether the operations of the speculators hastened or delayed settlement, encouraged or hindered the system of small holdings. Meanwhile, we may note that Professor Abernethy considers the Virginia land office act of 1779 (drafted, incidentally, by Thomas Jefferson) “a colossal mistake,” a blow to economic democracy, and a retarding influence on settlement because it played into the hands of speculators and thus *prevented* the diffusion of land in small holdings. By this act, he says, “democracy was defeated in Virginia at the moment when it might have had its birth.”²⁹

Land speculation was, of course, a form of business enterprise. And business enterprise, it is now clear, took a sharp spurt as a direct result of Revolutionary conditions. That Jameson should have perceived and stressed this in 1925 is sufficiently remarkable. His chapter on “Industry and Commerce” undoubtedly opened the eyes of many American historians to the economic facts which, as everyone now recognizes, are as crucial in the history of a war as the political, diplomatic, and military facts.

Some of the new economic paths which the Revolution opened, turned out to be blind alleys. Postwar interest in the improvement of agriculture, reflected in the sudden popularity of farmers’ societies, proved to be short-lived and relatively ineffectual.³⁰ In some regions the wartime growth of manufacturing, which Jameson noted, was choked off by the postwar flood of cheap British goods, which he neglected to mention.³¹

But in other ways enterprise burgeoned and flourished under wartime and postwar conditions. Opportunities for quick gains in privateering and profiteering, the opening of new markets, the expansion of the credit system, the injection of new supplies of specie into the economy as a result of foreign borrowing, the rise of new business groups around men like Jeremiah Wadsworth, William Duer, Robert Morris, the very idea (a new one for Ameri-

²⁹ Cf. Gates, “The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXVI (1942), 314–33; Thomas P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York, 1937), p. 228.

³⁰ Jameson implies (pp. 79–80) that French influence was chiefly responsible for this sudden burst of interest in scientific farming. Actually, the major inspiration came from England. See Frederick B. Tolles, “George Logan and the Agricultural Revolution,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (1951), 590.

³¹ Jensen holds, however, that there was no real collapse in manufacturing, only a temporary recession. *The New Nation*, pp. 219–27.

cans) of large-scale business association—all these were constructive economic forces generated by the Revolution.³² Especially important were the rise of banking and the spread of incorporation. In the words of one economic historian, the Bank of North America, which opened in Philadelphia in 1782, “was identified with the American Revolutionary ‘settlement,’—as the Bank of England was with that of the ‘Glorious Revolution.’”

The same scholar gives us some revealing statistics on the chartering of business corporations: “In contrast with the half-dozen American business charters granted in the entire colonial period, eleven were issued in the United States between 1781 and 1785, twenty-two between 1786 and 1790, and 114 between 1791 and 1795.”³³ Economic facts of this order have led one writer to treat the American Revolution as “the triumph of American mercantile capitalism.”³⁴ Whether or not one wishes to adopt this view, it is clear, as Jameson dimly perceived, that the Revolution loosed potent new forces in the American economy. How these forces were related to the social and political democracy which Jameson saw as products of the Revolution remains to be studied.

When he turned from the hard facts of economic history to the impalpable realm of “thought and feeling,” Jameson was less at home. Yet even here he opened vistas which a generation of intellectual and cultural historians have explored with profit. The greater part of his final lecture is concerned with the effect of independence on the churches—with disestablishment and the separation of church and state, with the reorganization of the churches on a national basis, with the wartime decline of religious life and the postwar spread of liberal theologies. Subsequent research has added little to Jameson’s account of these matters, except to fill in details.³⁵ What Jameson did—and it was no trifling achievement—was to bring American church history within the purview of American historians—to take, as it were, the first steps toward giving this neglected orphan child a home and a standing within the family of historical disciplines.

Certain of his insights, naturally, have proved more fruitful than others.

³² Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (New York, 1938), chap. II.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 288.

³⁴ Louis Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism* (New York, 1940), chap. XIII.

³⁵ Here Jameson had the benefit of E. F. Humphrey’s solidly documented, probably little-read monograph on *Nationalism and Religion in America* (Boston, 1924). One added comment which he might have made—for it would have fitted his emphasis on French influences—was that the French alliance and the hope of enlisting Canadian support brought some improvement in the legal status of Roman Catholics and a more tolerant attitude toward them. See Evarts B. Greene, *Religion and the State: The Making and Testing of an American Tradition* (New York, 1941), pp. 76–78; Sister M. Augustana Ray, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1936), p. 348.

His *obiter dictum* to the effect that military men can never again play the part in public life that they played after the Revolution falls strangely on our ears, who have known the proconsulate of MacArthur, the foreign ministry of Marshall, the Presidency of Eisenhower. Curiously, Jameson found little evidence of educational advance in the Revolutionary era, except for the founding of new colleges. Had he taken a broader view of education, he might have recognized a number of important developments directly or indirectly related to wartime experience: the improvement of medicine (including dentistry) and of medical education;³⁶ the emergence of civil engineering from military engineering; the founding of Judge Tapping Reeve's "law school" at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1784; the diffusion of scientific knowledge through the revived activity of the American Philosophical Society and the founding of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the popularity of pamphleteering as a form of mass education; and—not least important—the informal education, the widening of horizons, that resulted from wartime mobility, from the fact that, for the first time, many Americans rubbed elbows—and minds—not only with Europeans but with other Americans.³⁷ The school of intellectual and cultural historians which has sprung up in the last quarter century has made much of the "intellectual democracy" and the "cultural nationalism" which Jameson vaguely perceived as concomitants, in the realm of "thought and feeling," of the American Revolution.³⁸

The danger here as elsewhere is that the historian, misled by his enthusiasm for the concept of "revolution," will posit too abrupt a set of changes, will pay too little attention to the evidences of historical continuity. Jameson himself did not altogether avoid this pitfall. For example, he wrote that "Joel Barlow's *Vision of Columbus*, or President Stiles's celebrated election sermon on *The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor*, could not possibly have been written twenty years earlier."³⁹ If he meant by this that the idea of the United States as an independent nation was not entertained in the 1760's, the statement is obviously correct, though hardly startling. If he meant that before 1775 no American felt or expressed love for the land, pride in its people, confidence in its future, he was just as obviously wrong. For one finds strong feelings of American patriotism in a pre-Revolutionary poem like Freneau and Brackenridge's "The Rising Glory of America," written in 1771, in the

³⁶ Fielding H. Garrison says flatly: "The War of Independence was the making of medicine in this country." *An Introduction to the History of Medicine* (4th ed.; Philadelphia, 1929), p. 376.

³⁷ Dixon Ryan Fox ("Culture in Knapsacks," in *Ideas in Motion* [New York, 1935] pp. 37-76) emphasizes contacts with foreigners and foreign ideas; Evarts B. Greene ("Some Educational Values of the American Revolution," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXVIII [1929], 185-94) stresses the association of Americans with men from other states.

³⁸ See Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), chap. vi.

³⁹ P. 120.

sermons of Samuel Davies and Jonathan Mayhew in the 1750's, even in Judge Samuel Sewall's proud paean to his beloved Plum Island, Crane Pond, and Turkey Hill as far back as the last decade of the seventeenth century.⁴⁰ Indeed the points at which the supports to Jameson's thesis seem weakest—where for example he argues for sharper changes in the political and social status of individuals than can be justified on the evidence—are precisely those points at which he overlooked or underestimated dynamic forces already present in the society of late colonial America.

Still, a historian who fashions so useful a conceptual tool, who popularizes so fruitful a hypothesis, who enlarges so notably our understanding of a significant era in American history, can be forgiven a few oversights, a few overstatements. Basically, the "Jameson thesis" is still sound, and, what is more important, still vital and suggestive, capable of still further life, still greater usefulness. Jameson, after all, did much more than give us a new approach to the American Revolution. He formulated and cogently applied to a particular period an important general thesis—"the thesis that all the varied activities of men in the same country and period have intimate relations with each other, and that one cannot obtain a satisfactory view of any one of them by considering it apart from the others."⁴¹ For this he deserves homage as one of the founders of American social and cultural history.

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⁴⁰ See the excellent chapter "Of Loyalties and of the British American Nation" in Max Savelle, *Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind* (New York, 1948), pp. 553-82; also Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York, 1946), chap. I. For the Sewall passage, which appeared in his *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica ad Aspectum Novi Orbis configurata* (1697), see Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 189-90.

⁴¹ Jameson, p. 158.

Iconoclasm during the French Revolution*

STANLEY J. IDZERDA

MY friend," wrote Diderot in 1765, "if we love truth more than the fine arts, let us pray God for some iconoclasts."¹ In this oracular statement from one of the tutelary deities of the Enlightenment there is the germ of a major dilemma for the men of the French Revolution. First, they realized that France was a treasure house of Western art, and that any French government wishing to justify itself in the eyes of contemporaries or of posterity would have to respect the French artistic inheritance. Second, the men of the Revolution knew that painting, sculpture, and architecture, in the years before 1789, had been used as instruments of social control, as textbooks in morals and politics. Both the *philosophes* and the royal art ministers had agreed that the chief function of the arts was didactic: "The governors of men have always made use of painting and sculpture in order to inspire in their subjects the religious or political sentiments they desire them to hold."² Most of the art criticism of the late eighteenth century confirms this view, and variations upon this refrain were constantly repeated during the Revolution itself.³

Here, then, is the painful dilemma of the revolutionaries: They had to demonstrate that the fine arts would not suffer under a revolutionary regime, but many of the social, political, and religious values expressed in the art of the pre-1789 era were, in revolutionary terms, "untrue," and had to be

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¹ *Magazin encyclopédique*, III (1795), 52-53. The passage is from Diderot's critique of the Salon of 1765.

² Diderot, et al., eds., *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonnée des sciences, des arts et des métiers* . . . (Paris, 1751-65), article "Peinture," XII, 267.

³ See La Font de Saint-Yenne, *L'ombre du Grand Colbert, le Louvre, et la Ville de Paris, Dialogue. Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'Etat présent de la peinture en France* . . . (Paris, 1752), *passim*; M. L. — P., *Observations générales sur le salon de 1783, et sur l'état des arts en France* (Paris, 1783), p. 31; *Journal de Paris*, no. 279 (Oct. 6, 1787), pp. 1203-1204; Fernand Engerand, ed., *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des bâtiments du roi (1709-1792)* (Paris, 1900), p. xxix; Jean Locquin, *La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris, 1912), p. 51; David L. Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution* (Lincoln, 1948), chaps. 1, 2. For comment in a similar vein during the Revolution, see Jérôme Mavidal, Emile Laurent, et al., eds., *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860* . . . (Paris, 1862-1913), Ser. 1 [hereafter cited as *Arch. parl.*], XVI, 541; XX, 293; XXII, 215; XXIV, 281-82; XXVI, 467-72; XXIX, 306; XLIV, 498. The philosophy of art common to the eighteenth century seems to have been derived from a vulgarization of sensationalist and associationist psychology prevalent during the era. See Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1951), chap. 3.

destroyed. The revolutionaries were cultivated men; they were proud of their artistic heritage; they were confident that the visual arts were a school for both the illiterate and the literate, but they were also positive that the values of the *ancien régime* were false and had to be eradicated. If Diderot had been alive, they might well have replied to him, "We love the truth *and* the fine arts. What shall we do?"

Although both horns of the dilemma were clearly in view from the first days of the Revolution, the general tendency up to 1792 seemed to be to favor the preservation of the arts. This tendency was accurately reflected in the newspaper *L'Année littéraire* when it noticed an art exhibition in August, 1789. "France has always been *la patrie* of art and talent. One hopes that, in the astonishing revolution now under way, the Muses will not quit their customary asylum."⁴ But it was not only "hoped" that the arts would continue to flourish; definite efforts were made to preserve the French art heritage—efforts made necessary by the nationalization of church property in November, 1789.

The sale of many church buildings to private individuals raised fears that the mosaics, stained-glass windows, statues, and paintings in these buildings would be either destroyed or dispersed.⁵ To avoid the danger of such an artistic loss to the nation, the Constituent Assembly in 1790 created a Monuments Commission composed of members of several royal academies.⁶ The chief duty of this group was to inventory and collect in various depots those works of art thought worthy of preservation by the state. The members lacked funds necessary for travel but attempted to reach departmental officials by publishing a brochure entitled, "Instructions concerning the conservation of manuscripts, charters . . . monuments of antiquity, statues, paintings, and other objects relating to the fine arts found in churches."⁷ The Monuments Commission had some success in collecting, from the churches in the region around Paris, the funerary monuments of the former rulers of France and the princes and princesses of the royal blood. These monuments were then displayed in the abbey church at St. Denis, in the hope that both records of the past and the fine arts would be preserved at the same time.⁸ The commission won high praise in the Constituent Assembly,⁹ for such activity as this seemed to confirm the attitude expressed in a speech by Barère in May,

⁴ *L'Année littéraire*, VI (September, 1789), 281.

⁵ *Arch. parl.*, XIX, 434-35, 472, 603.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIX, 603; Louis Tuetey, ed., *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments, 1790-4* (Paris, 1902, 1903), I, i-vii.

⁷ *Arch. parl.*, XXI, 490 ff.

⁸ *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, I, 30.

⁹ *Arch. parl.*, XXXI, 346.

1791. "The revolutions of a barbarous people," Barère said, "destroy all monuments, and the very trace of the arts seems to be effaced. The revolutions of an enlightened people conserve the fine arts, and embellish them, while the fruitful concern of the legislator causes the arts to be reborn as an ornament of the empire."¹⁰

For all this, there was an ominous undercurrent which boded ill for the arts. In the same month that the writer for *L'Année littéraire* was praying for the preservation of art and a continuation of artistic activity, the more radical *Révolutions de Paris* observed that

the statues of kings in our cities are not the work of the people, but of courtesan ministers. . . . The recent events in the districts have doubtless impressed themselves upon everyone's memory, but Time will soon efface those memories. . . . for those who cannot read, it will be as though these names and ceremonies had never existed. We should speak to the people of their glory by means of a public monument, for we must not forget in this revolution the powerful language of symbols. . . . If it is objected that such a statue is too costly, then let us take the marble and bronze from the statue erected to the iniquitous Louis XIII which is an insult to both reason and humanity. From the debris of this monument we may raise one to the defenders of liberty and *la patrie*.¹¹

To remind Frenchmen of the "powerful language of symbols" was a work of supererogation. Early in 1790 a group of artists, in a petition to the National Assembly, requested that the king "order the destruction of all monuments created during the feudal regime."¹² A short time later Quatremère de Quincy, a member of the Assembly, recalled to his fellow legislators Plato's fears for the people in the presence of corrupting art. While agreeing with Plato, De Quincy gave the philosopher's ideas a peculiar twist. "Under tyranny the arts turned the people from their true interests and caressed them to sleep," he wrote, but, "place the arts in the hands of the people, and they will become the flail of tyrants. The arts are only instruments, which will produce good or evil depending upon the hand that uses them."¹³

While these reminders of the necessity of legislative concern for the arts continued, the attitude of legislators remained ambivalent. For example, during the debate on the abolition of noble titles in June, 1790, a motion was passed which ordered the destruction of some bas-reliefs at the foot of Desjardins' statue of Louis XIV in the Place Victoire because they represented four French provinces in chains.¹⁴ Within a week this destruction was accom-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 471-72.

¹¹ *Révolutions de Paris* . . . , IX (Sept. 9, 1789), 25-26.

¹² M. Deltufo, *Discours prononcé à la barre de l'Assemblée Nationale, par M. Deltufo, directeur de la Société Polysophique* (Paris, 1790), p. 5.

¹³ Antoine C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Considérations sur les arts du dessin en France, suivies d'un plan d'Académie* . . . (Paris, 1791), pp. 56-57.

¹⁴ *Arch. parl.*, XVI, 374.

plished, yet nobody seemed to notice that the decree which abolished noble titles contained an article which specifically forbade destruction of monuments pertaining to the old order.¹⁵

This attitude of hesitation between the preservation and destruction of art seemed swept away after the uprising of the Paris Commune in 1792. August 10, 1792, marked the collapse of the monarchy and the beginning of a torrent of iconoclasm which was to last for three years. Mobs stirred by the tocsin on August 10 roamed the city and tore down the monuments which had immortalized the "Capetian line." Accompanied by the cheers of excited crowds, the statues of Henry IV, Louis XIII, XIV, and XV crashed to the ground.¹⁶ During the session of the Legislative Assembly on August 11 this destruction was noted with some dismay, but the legislators agreed that "nothing could be done to stop the wrath of the people." It was decided to "uproot all royal prejudice," and to "demonstrate to the people that the Assembly was aware of their regard for liberty," by decreeing that all statues in Paris "erected in honor of despotism" be destroyed.¹⁷

Three days later a definitive law applicable to the whole nation was passed without opposition. The preamble to the decree made its general purpose—iconoclasm—quite clear; if the monarchy was to disappear, it was necessary that all its symbols disappear as well.

Whereas, the sacred principles of liberty and equality will not permit the existence of monuments raised to ostentation, prejudice, and tyranny to continue to offend the eyes of the French people; whereas, the bronze in these monuments can be converted into cannon for the defense of *la patrie*, it is decreed; I. All statues, bas-reliefs, inscriptions, and other monuments made of bronze or other metals, which exist in public squares, gardens, parks, public buildings . . . will be removed by the communes. [The second article provided for the conversion of this metal into cannon.] III. All monuments containing traces of feudalism, of whatever nature, that still remain in churches, or other public places, and even those in private homes, shall, without the slightest delay, be destroyed by the communes.

Having directed some twenty-five million people to destroy feudal monuments without delay, the government remembered its responsibilities to the arts and turned to the thirty-three members of the Monuments Commission.

¹⁵ Johann Georg Wille, *Mémoires et Journal* (Paris, 1857), II, 217. Wille recorded the destruction in his journal entry for July 4, 1790. For the text of the decree abolishing titles of nobility, see *Arch. parl.*, XVIII, 104-10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 2, 115; *Moniteur*, no. 226 (Aug. 12, 1792), p. 948; no. 229 (Aug. 15, 1792), p. 962; Bertrand Barère, *Memoirs . . .* (London, 1896), II, 16-17; Edouard Lockroy, ed., *The Great French Revolution, 1785-1793. Narrated in the Letters of Madame J[ullien] of the Jacobin Party* (London, 1881), p. 212.

¹⁷ *Arch. parl.*, XLVIII, 2.

The last article of the decree read: "IV. The Monuments Commission is expressly charged with the conservation of those items which have a particular interest for the arts. . . ." ¹⁸

With this legal sanction, the destruction of symbols of the Old Regime went on apace. Within a month the minister of the interior was expressing concern because he could not possibly keep records of, or control the upsurge of, iconoclastic activity set in motion by the decree of August 14. ¹⁹ Perhaps the minister did not realize that haste was of the essence. Granting a common belief in an identity between the object perceived and the idea in the mind of the percipient, those visual objects which possessed a dangerous ideological content had to be destroyed at once. ²⁰ As one member of the Convention warned his fellows, "When a horse has the glanders he must be killed, and his harness and stall must be burned to avoid the spread of the pestilence." ²¹

The "harness and stall" in this crude analogy seemed at first to refer only to the social and political symbols of the *ancien régime*. But the assassination and apotheosis of Marat and the "dechristianization" movement in 1793 brought religious symbols also under the hammer or to the pyre. Public lamentation for the death of Marat and hatred of "non-juring" clergy and an ultramontane church were often combined in a ceremony with three main features: a church would be inaugurated as a Temple of Reason, a bust of Marat would be unveiled, and a bonfire composed of statues, paintings, charters, and armorial bearings would be lit. The fete held at Fontainebleau was typical of many. "To appease the spirit of Marat," all the pictures of kings and nobles were taken from the chateau and set afire in front of a bust of the martyr. It was proudly recounted how the smoke from Champagne's portrait of Louis XIII "was wafted toward the bust. It was the most agreeable incense we could offer him." ²² Although there were many such ceremonies, often the bonfire alone provided an outlet for republican zeal. A fete celebrating the anniversary of the collapse of the monarchy, for instance, was considered a fine occasion to burn wagonloads of the "symbols of royalty, super-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 115-16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, L, 14-15; *Moniteur*, no. 261 (Sept. 16, 1792), p. 1108. The minister made a similar complaint in October, 1793; see *Arch. parl.*, LIII, 96.

²⁰ This is not to say that sensationalist psychology was entirely responsible for revolutionary iconoclasm (see n. 3); however, arguments leaning upon this psychology lent weight or support to the iconoclastic movement.

²¹ Cited in James Guillaume, ed., *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale* (Paris, 1891-1907), IV, 276.

²² Description of the fete at Fontainebleau in *Arch. parl.*, LXXVII, 648-51. For other such fetes, almost liturgical in their sameness, see *ibid.*, LXXII, 318; LXXIX, 702-704; LXXXI, 277, 689, 695; LXXXII, 74, 383, 449, 664.

stition and ignorance," or of "slavery, despotism and fanaticism," which might include even books with the *fleur de lys* stamped on the bindings.²³

While this destruction went forward, many complaints were voiced in the Convention that the destruction of symbols glorifying the past was not being accomplished with sufficient rapidity or thoroughness.²⁴ A decree of September 14, 1793, threatened dismissal to municipal officers who failed to perform their duty as prescribed by the first law for the destruction of monuments.²⁵ In October, 1793, it was required that all symbols of the *ancien régime* were to be destroyed within eight days, upon pain of confiscation of the property where such symbols still existed.²⁶ In the same month, the council of the Paris Commune ordained that all "religious effigies" in the city be immediately destroyed; no statue other than that of "Sommeil" would be allowed to stand in the cemeteries, and all other sculptured representations would be delivered to the hammer.²⁷

In face of such legislative pressure, the Monuments Commission (which had been organized in 1790) was almost helpless. They were still responsible for the preservation of works of art, but the thirty-three members of the group were all residents of Paris; they served without pay; their official status was ambiguous, and, in any event, they could not possibly roam the face of France directing municipal officers to stop doing what the central government had instructed these municipal officers to do upon pain of loss of their civic positions. Indeed, the Committee of Public Safety actually called upon the Monuments Commission to destroy a part of what the commission had so care-

²³ For specific reports of the destruction of monuments, paintings, books, etc., because of their real or imagined connection with the Old Regime, see *ibid.*, LIII, 96; LXI, 392; LXVIII, 485; LXX, 69; LXXIII, 318; LXXVI, 479; *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 150; III, 40; IV, 79, 81, 302, 650, 676, 817, 838; V, 254, 514; VI, 126, 502, 525, 549, 572, 675, 712, 801; Louis Tuetey, ed., *Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des arts* (Paris, 1912, 1918), I, 97, 115, 207, 210; II, 4, 9, 25, 37, 60, 154, 212, 241; *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, I, 141, 149, 273, 311, 364; II, 2, 3, 7, 12-13, 46, 56, 61, 69-70, 71, 77, 81-82, 92, 94, 109, 111, 127, 170-71, 175, 207-208. These citations cover the period 1790-95; they do not include government-encouraged destruction of monuments and statues during 1794-95 which had been raised in honor of Marat and *la Montagne* during 1793-94. If there was so much destruction, how can we account for what has remained? (a) It is difficult to destroy in three years that which had been created in the previous eight hundred years. (b) In many cases (not cited above) the offending architectural decorations were simply plastered over. (c) Much of the destruction required expensive scaffolding and hired laborers; the communes were required to pay for this work from local revenue (see *Arch. parl.*, LXXIII, 378; LXXIV, 100), and it appears that considerations of economy interfered with the desire to destroy the symbols proscribed. (d) A reasonable portion of "medieval" cathedral sculpture which delights the eye of the modern tourist, e.g., on Notre Dame de Paris, is the work of nineteenth-century restoration under the leadership of such men as Viollet-le-Duc.

²⁴ *Arch. parl.*, LV, 341-42; LXI, 392; LXIII, 311; LXXIV, 100; LXXVI, 440, 455; LXXXIII, 378, 484.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, LXXIV, 100.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, LXXVII, 711-12; *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 652.

²⁷ *Moniteur*, no. 27 (Oct. 15, 1793), p. 107; no. 34 (Oct. 23, 1793), p. 135.

fully labored to preserve—the royal tombs at St. Denis.²⁸ “These monuments of idolatry still nourished the superstition of some Frenchmen,”²⁹ and within a month of the directive from the Committee of Public Safety some fifty of the tombs were destroyed under the direction of the Monuments Commission itself.³⁰

By December, 1793, however, the hapless members of the Monuments Commission, accused of “not having kept pace with the revolution” and of “stationary” patriotism, were dismissed by the government. A new group, called the Temporary Arts Commission, with duties identical with those of its predecessor, was called into being.³¹ It also was to preserve those works of art remaining from the *ancien régime* which possessed a purely aesthetic or historical value. The new commissioners conscientiously applied themselves to this task, but they too were not innocent of iconoclasm. The commission ordered all portraits of “the Capetian race” destroyed, and when one member timidly suggested that a few of these portraits might contain “some aspects of genius or originality,” he was firmly overruled by the more “patriotic” members.³² The new art commission also suggested that a national fete be held, centered around a holocaust of “the effigies and monuments that recall royalty and fanaticism, in order that nothing escape the republican crucible.”³³

This fete was never held, but there was a period during 1793 and 1794 when it seemed that the maw of the “republican crucible” would be crammed to overflowing if the disciples of the cult of republican virtue were to have their way. Prominent in the winds of doctrine that blew over eighteenth-century France was the notion that the arts were a result of luxury and vice, that they flourished only in decadent, over-civilized societies and provided opiates for the subjects of tyrannical rulers.³⁴ Disputes over the truth or falsity of such ideas before the Revolution remained largely academic, but the implications of such a philosophy of art obviously would be disastrous if French-

²⁸ *Arch. parl.*, LXX, 108.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, LXXVI, 440.

³⁰ *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 610-11; *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, II, 40.

³¹ *Arch. parl.*, LXXXI, 628-31.

³² *Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des arts*, II, 657. See also, I, 106, 207; *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, IV, 657.

³³ *Ibid.*, IV, 654-55.

³⁴ See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, ed. George R. Havens (London, 1946), pp. 61-82. Havens shows that Rousseau's *Discours* expressed ideas that had been abroad for at least three generations, in the works of Charron, Bossuet, Fénelon, Montesquieu, et al. Several French editions of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* were published between 1740 and 1760, adding fuel to the dispute. See also, J.-J. Rousseau, *Lettre . . . sur les spectacles* (1758); Paul Henry Thiry Baron d'Holbach, *Système social . . .* (London, 1773), I, 64; Johann J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les anciens* (Paris, 1791), I, 90.

men ever decided to create a republican regime which prided itself upon a Reign of Virtue, a return to simplicity, and to nature.

Such a regime was the dream of many revolutionaries in 1793-94. Its adherents sometimes refused to distinguish between "royal" and "republican" art: they would abolish the arts altogether. In a discourse before the Convention in October, 1793, Michel-Edme Petit succinctly expressed the new vogue. He claimed that any inclusion of the fine arts in the education of children would "corrupt morals" and he pointed to the lax morals of artists as proof. Any enjoyment from the fine arts, he contended, "would enervate the spirit, render it incapable of courage, of enduring privations; it would make men insensible to the charms of moderate means and simplicity which are so indispensable in a republic."³⁵ Soon after Petit's speech, a deputation from Sèvres visited the Convention complaining of ornate church decorations and priestly vestments because such display was not in keeping with "the simplicity and modesty of the *sans-culotte* Jesus."³⁶ In November, 1793, the Committee of Public Instruction received word from the citizens of Rochefort that all "monuments of superstition" as well as all religious books in the city had been devoured in a bonfire lasting twenty-two hours. On the same day that the committee heard from Rochefort, they also received a letter from the librarian of the city of Marseilles asking for advice (or consolation); the librarian had been told by his townsmen to burn *all* his books because they were either "useless or evil."³⁷ And one anonymous pamphleteer pointed out that the epochs most favorable to the arts had been those of the emperor Augustus, Pope Leo X, and Louis XIV; on the other hand, the Spartans had "banished all luxury."³⁸ What must a good republican conclude?

Almost inevitably, the reaction against the art of the pre-revolutionary era

³⁵ Cited in *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 551.

³⁶ *Moniteur*, no. 51 (Nov. 11, 1793), p. 207.

³⁷ *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, III, 40-41.

³⁸ Alexandre Tuetey and Jean Guiffrey, eds., *La Commission du musée et la création du Musée du Louvre (1792-1793) (Documents . . .)* (Paris, 1910), p. 181. For other contemporary comments regarding the necessary connection between luxury and art, see Quatremère de Quincy, *Considérations sur les arts*, pp. 49, 86; Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey, eds., *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome . . .* (Paris, 1901-1907), XVI, 395; *Moniteur*, no. 95 (Nov. 25, 1789), p. 387; no. 20 (Jan. 20, 1790), p. 79. Further reports of art, philosophy, and literature condemned as useless or dangerous for republicans may be found in *Arch. parl.*, LXXVII, 489; LXXXI, 633; *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, IV, 829; *Moniteur*, no. 119 (Jan. 17, 1794), p. 480; *Annales de la République française . . .*, no. 230 (Aug. 17, 1793), p. 1131; *Décade philosophique . . .*, I (June 28, 1794), 402; Antoine Augustin Renouard, Chardin, et Charlemagne fils, *Observations de quelques patriotes sur la nécessité de conserver les monuments de la littérature et des arts* (Paris, 1793), p. 11; François Antoine de Boissy d'Anglas, *Quelques idées sur les arts, sur la nécessité de les encourager . . . adressés à la Convention nationale* (Paris, 1793), p. 127-28. These reports do not name specific persons; rather, they "heard it in the streets," or "one hears that the arts are condemned as useless," etc.

reflected upon those artists still alive during the Revolution who had formerly produced paintings or sculpture glorifying royal or religious patrons. The Conventionnel A.C. Thibaudeau reproached French artists because they had not memorialized the great events of the Revolution. Most artists, he said, had "centuries of baseness and adulation" on their record, for during a despotic regime they "had hastened to deify despotism and present it to the people in its most seductive forms."³⁹ Such insinuations had been in the air since the first years of the Revolution.⁴⁰ Perhaps as a consequence, we find that no group seemed more anxious to join the iconoclastic crusade than the artists themselves.

Jacques-Louis David, the greatest painter of his age, was a member of the Monuments Commission. In June, 1790, he had joined a deputation to the National Assembly, pleading for the partial preservation of Louis XIV's statue in the Place Victoire, lest this "masterpiece" be lost to posterity.⁴¹ David later became a rabid Jacobin and was chosen to represent his *section* in the National Convention. Soon after the Convention opened, he was demanding that an "auto-da-fé" be made of the effigies of kings and cardinals in the Royal Academy's school at Rome.⁴² As organizer of the fete commemorating the first anniversary of the downfall of the monarchy, David arranged that a statue of liberty be raised in the Place Victoire; before this statue the "attributes of royalty . . . would be made into an enormous bonfire . . . as an expiatory sacrifice."⁴³ Although David did not indicate who was "expiating" for what, he may have unconsciously intended the bonfire as an atonement for the past sins of French artists. During his term as president of the Convention in January, 1794, he announced that "The arts are going to recover their dignity. They will no longer prostitute themselves celebrating tyrants."⁴⁴

David was not the only artist interested in forwarding iconoclasm. The Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture was abolished by government fiat in August, 1793, and was almost immediately replaced by an official group (dominated by David and his students) called the "Commune of Arts." At first it seemed that the Commune of Arts would be merely a more egalitarian version of the old Royal Academy, while it carried on the academy's teaching and judging functions. But the hostile pressure upon a group of men who had so obviously "prostituted" themselves so short a time ago was too great, particularly when injury was added to insult by suggestions that art of *any* kind

³⁹ *Moniteur*, no. 232 (May 11, 1794), p. 943.

⁴⁰ See *Arch. parl.*, XVIII, 91-92; XXII, 215; LXXVII, 650-51.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 541; *Moniteur*, no. 181 (June 30, 1790), pp. 737-38.

⁴² *Ibid.*, no. 331 (Nov. 26, 1792), p. 1403; *Arch. parl.*, LIII, 579.

⁴³ *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 73.

⁴⁴ *Moniteur*, no. 119 (Jan. 18, 1794), p. 480.

was useless or evil. By January of 1794, the members of the Commune of Arts decided that "any conflict between the God of genius and the God of patriotism must cease."⁴⁵ The hotheads in the Commune planned a ceremony in which a portrait of the dauphin was to be dragged to the foot of a liberty tree, mutilated by each member of the Commune and then burned. Those in the Commune who opposed such activity were assumed to be infected with "moderantisme" or "counterrevolutionary" tendencies.⁴⁶

In the spring of 1794, the Commune of Arts began to take action against contemporary painters and engravers whose works contained "obscenities which revolted republican morals," and they planned to bring a list of proscribed works to the Committee of Public Safety.⁴⁷ Within a week of this action, the well-known painter, L.-L. Boilly, appeared before the Commune to "abjure his former errors" as a painter of subjects of doubtful morality. Boilly asked for mercy on the ground that he was first to denounce his own conduct. He assured his rapt listeners that in the future he would use his brush "in a more worthy manner."⁴⁸ What more could virtuous republicans ask?

Notwithstanding all these iconoclastic plans, legislation, and activity, the dilemma remained in force, even though it never seemed to be recognized explicitly by the revolutionaries. The dialectic, the tension, between iconoclasm and the need to preserve the heritage of the arts (to say nothing of the need to provide an environment in which artists would feel encouraged to create republican symbols without fear of reprisal at the next shift in the republican credo) remained a fact even during the most destructive periods during 1793-94. Attempts were made to draw a line between "luxury" and "art"; questions were raised concerning the necessary cause-and-effect relationship between the morals of society and its art, and some courageous Frenchmen began to hint that the primrose path of iconoclasm lead to the hell of barbarism.

When, in January, 1793, the minister of the interior asked for funds to support the Gobelin tapestry works, he granted that the Gobelins had formerly served "luxury and frivolity," but he insisted that once the "moeurs" of a

⁴⁵ Henry Lapauze, ed., *Procès-verbaux de la Commune générale des arts de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure* . . . (Paris, 1903), p. 213.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 202, 207. When the painter A. J. Belle was named director of the Gobelin factory in 1793, he proved his patriotism by burning at the foot of a liberty tree tapestries containing royal symbolism; see *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, XV, 381.

⁴⁷ *Procès-verbaux de la Commune générale des arts*, p. 287. A member of the commune also brought the problem to the Council General of the Paris Commune, asking severe police action; *Moniteur*, no. 222 (May 5, 1794), p. 915.

⁴⁸ *Procès-verbaux de la Commune générale des arts*, p. 291. Boilly had enjoyed great success as kind of a bourgeois Boucher. His depictions of middle-class courting scenes appear innocent enough, but the titles of the pictures usually contained a *double-entendre*. Part of his expiatory activity included painting "Marat Carried in Triumph on the Shoulders of the People."

society had changed, the arts would follow suit.⁴⁹ The arts did not corrupt society until society had first corrupted the arts. Reform "les mœurs" and the arts would reflect this reform and further it.⁵⁰ "Let us distinguish between luxury and the arts" warned the author of *Almanach des Républicains*. "Leave luxury for monarchs, but let us keep the arts, for they support lofty ideas." After all, "Republicans are not barbarians," and even the "Spartans made sacrifices to the Muses before going into battle."⁵¹ A fear of further iconoclasm was shown by the writers of a liturgy for "Temples of Reason" in their elaborate defense of the fine arts in a republic. In fact, the arts were considered so important that they were included in the Ten Commandments (revised republican version). Commandment Six read, "Thou shalt cultivate the fine arts; they are the ornament of the State."⁵²

Newspaper and pamphlet comment during this period often approved of iconoclasm in principle but condemned it in practice. Fears were expressed that, if the destruction continued, France would become a cultural desert and lose its leadership in the arts. Further, those engaged in government-sponsored iconoclasm were often compared to "Ostrogoths," "Visigoths," "Moslem fanatics," or to "early Christians, who had destroyed the statues of Pheidias and Praxiteles."⁵³

This type of objection was sometimes echoed in the National Convention, often by the same members who were (on other occasions) insisting upon the necessity for the destruction of all royal, feudal, and religious symbols.⁵⁴ Attempts were made to cast the blame on the enemies of the Republic and to provide for a remedy. In June, 1793, notice was taken of the "irreparable losses" suffered by the fine arts through "the outrages of aristocrats," and an act was adopted providing two years in irons for anyone discovered mutilating works of art.⁵⁵ In October, 1793—the same month in which a law was passed insisting upon the destruction of all offending monuments without delay—a member of the Committee of Public Instruction presented to the Convention an

⁴⁹ *Arch. parl.*, LVI, 654.

⁵⁰ *Décade philosophique*, I (June 8, 1794), 404. The same idea is expressed in the anonymous pamphlet "Considérations sur les arts et sur le muséum nationale" reprinted in Tuetey and Guiffrey, *Commission du muséum*, p. 181.

⁵¹ Pierre Sylvain Maréchal, *Almanach des Républicains, pour servir à l'instruction publique* (Paris, 1793), pp. 69, 83.

⁵² C. Chenier, Dusasoir, et al., *Office des décades, ou discours, hymnes, et prières en usage dans les Temples de la Raison* (Paris, IIème année de l'Ere républicaine), pp. 45-47, 84.

⁵³ See Chrisosthème Alethes, *Félicitation publique à M. Lequino sur son projet de démolir les monuments des arts* (Paris, 1793); Renouard, Chardin, et Charlemagne fils, *Observations de quelques patriotes*; Boissy d'Anglas, *Quelques idées sur les arts*; *Annales de la République française*, no. 230 (Aug. 17, 1793), p. 1131; *Décade philosophique*, I (June 28, 1794), 401-11; *Moniteur*, no. 72 (Dec. 2, 1793), p. 290.

⁵⁴ *Arch. parl.*, L, 5; LXVIII, 246-47; LXX, 69; LXXVII, 431-32.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, LXVI, 98.

omnibus decree respecting the arts, intended to remedy the defects of earlier laws on the subject. The speaker asserted that "the enemies of liberty" had given the laws of the Convention "a disastrous interpretation." He blamed "English spies" for leading the people to the destruction of "monuments which attest the superiority of our arts and our genius." Under the terms of the new law, it was "forbidden, under the pretext of destroying symbols of royalty, feudalism, or superstition, to efface, destroy, mutilate, or alter in any manner whatsoever . . . any object of art . . . which has artistic, historical, or educational value." Those objects which bore the symbols of the *ancien régime*, and had historical, educational, or artistic value were to be "taken to the nearest museum" for conservation. The last article of the law read, "All good citizens are invited to be as zealous in destroying the symbols proscribed in the preceding decrees . . . as they are to assure the conservation of those works of art which are of interest chiefly to the arts, history, and education."⁵⁶

The provisions of this law relate to the problem of revolutionary iconoclasm in two important respects. First, there is the attempt of the Conventionnels to grasp both horns of the dilemma: to destroy specific works of art, yet preserve the arts. Second, there is a proposed solution of the dilemma: the creation of public museums.

The Louvre museum and the Museum of French Monuments were products of the Revolution; it was there that the Monuments Commission and the Temporary Arts Commission collected many works of art containing the "proscribed symbols."⁵⁷ The Louvre was first opened to the public in August, 1793, and while many *sans-culottes* admired symbols of "royalty, feudalism, and superstition" inside the museum, they continued to engage in iconoclastic activities outside of it.⁵⁸ This paradoxical activity need not imply a contradiction in attitudes. It seems probable that when these works were seen in the museum, torn out of their cultural context, they were regarded only as "art"; their significance as tokens, symbols, or *mana* had been drained away because of their placement in an artificial situation, a strange milieu. A member of the Monuments Commission recommended that a scepter from one of the tombs at St. Denis be preserved for the museum "not as a scepter, but as an example of fourteenth-century goldsmith work."⁵⁹ (If this seems unusual or improbable, the reader might recall that, in our age, the *content* of a work of art in a museum is seldom objected to; on the other hand, murals in post-

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, LXXVII, 486-90.

⁵⁷ See *Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des arts*, and *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, *passim*.

⁵⁸ The museum was opened to the public three days a week, and was usually crowded with visitors. *Décade philosophique*, IV, no. 28 (Jan. 29, 1795), p. 215.

⁵⁹ *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, II, 211.

offices or in the Rockefeller Center have become public issues.) Regarded in this light, the public museum may be said to have originated as both an instrument of and a result of iconoclasm.

Despite the new decrees, and the founding of museums, the Conventionnels failed in their efforts to control iconoclasm before 1795. They had sowed the wind, and they reaped the usual unwelcome harvest. As reports of the destruction mounted, the Committee of Public Instruction had one of its members (on July 8, 1794, some weeks before Thermidor) collate these reports and make known his findings.⁶⁰ Henri Grégoire was the man assigned to the task, and he made not one but three lengthy reports from the tribune of the Convention in the last half of 1794.⁶¹ In these speeches, he placed the blame for the destruction upon "English spies," "counterrevolutionaries," and "terrorists," although only a few months before Thermidor Grégoire himself had praised the "wise law" ordaining "the destruction of all that carries the imprint of royalty and feudalism."⁶²

Not only did Grégoire blame the destruction upon the enemies of the Revolution; he also described this activity as "vandalism," i.e., "willful and ignorant destruction," and so added a word to our language, for the noun vandalism was of his coining.⁶³ By the use of this term, Grégoire evidently hoped to clear the fair name of the Revolution; in this hope he not only failed but made available a term of reprobation which has served as a polemical weapon in revolutionary studies ever since. Historians have taken Grégoire's "vandalism" at its face value, and have either denied it ever happened, or claimed that every mutilated or badly weathered statue in France is the work of "revolutionary vandalism."⁶⁴ It has been shown here that the activity described by Grégoire was not "vandalism" but iconoclasm, i.e., premeditated destruction of visual symbols because of their specific emotional or ideological content. In short, the issue of "revolutionary vandalism" is a false one.

⁶⁰ *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, VI, 273.

⁶¹ B. H. Grégoire, *Rapport sur les destructions opérées par le Vandalisme, et sur les moyens de les reprimer* . . . séance du 14 Fructidor, l'an II (Paris, l'an II); *Second Rapport sur le Vandalisme* . . . séance du 3 Brumaire, l'an III (Paris, l'an III); *Troisième rapport sur le Vandalisme* . . . séance du 24 Frimaire, l'an III (Paris, l'an III).

⁶² B. H. Grégoire, *Rapport sur les inscriptions des monuments publics* . . . séance du 22 Nivose, l'an II (Paris, l'an II), pp. 1, 5.

⁶³ See "Vandalism" in *Oxford English Dictionary*. *Mémoires de Grégoire* (Paris, 1840), I, 347.

⁶⁴ The most recent comments on the subject are by Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution*, in which the destruction wrought during the Revolution is denied as a "hoary legend," p. 90, n. 53; in "Le 'vandalisme révolutionnaire,'" *La Pensée*, no. 37 (July-Aug., 1951), Marcel Cornu blames vandalism upon the *ancien régime*, while the revolutionaries are credited with antivandalism. See also, Eugène Despois, *Le vandalisme révolutionnaire* . . . (Paris, 1868 and 1885); E. Boutaric, "Le vandalisme révolutionnaire," *Revue des questions historiques*, XII (1872), 325-96; Gustave Gautherot, *Le vandalisme jacobin* (Paris, 1914).

The real issue involves a revolutionary dilemma in terms of iconoclasm versus the preservation of an artistic heritage; while a great deal of premeditated destruction was wrought, an attempt to preserve the arts persisted. In one sense, the problem posed by Diderot, "... if we love truth more than the fine arts, let us pray God for some iconoclasts," was never resolved. It could be argued, however, that the revolutionaries did solve the dilemma in two ways. First, they encouraged iconoclasm and then called it the vandalism of their enemies. If this be a solution, it is neither creditable nor original. Second, they created a public institution called a "museum"; immure a political symbol in a museum and it becomes merely art—iconoclasm is thus achieved without destruction. This solution was quite original; it is one that Diderot never dreamed of, and it probably would have received his high praise.

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History and the German Revolution of 1848

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THE Revolution of 1848 was the last and, measured by the numbers and areas involved, the greatest of the middle-class revolutions which had convulsed Europe periodically since 1789. Inspired by an optimistic faith in human capacity for self-government, it released a flood of popular energies and passions which overwhelmed the existing political order. The system of conservative restoration, erected with such painstaking care in 1815 at Vienna, collapsed, and with its collapse an era came to an end.

It must have been exciting to be alive in the spring of 1848, that "spring-time of nations," when God smiled with favor upon every parliamentary subcommittee and the liberal millennium was just around the corner. Barricades were mushrooming in the capitals of Europe from the Seine to the Danube; angry mobs were stoning royal palaces; unpopular ministers were hastily signing resignations and hurrying into exile; exiled revolutionaries were hurrying home to a hero's welcome. To liberals witnessing these events it appeared as if a new world were about to be born, as if a new reign of liberty and justice were beginning. The sense of participation in the creation of a better society seemed to intoxicate them.¹

But the brave dream of a European polity of free individuals organized in free nations turned into a nightmare. The Revolution, greeted as the opening act of a process of cosmic liberation, degenerated before long into a war of all against all, of proletarian against bourgeois, Dane against Prussian, Pole against German, German against Czech. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, liberalism could not control the forces it had unleashed and was defeated by the Revolution it had created. By 1849 its strength was exhausted, and conservatives returned to the seats of power which liberals had occupied a year earlier. The effect of 1848 was to discredit political ideals and ideologies and to prepare the way for "strong" men, men who at least got what they wanted, even if what they wanted was not always morally justifiable.

¹ "I live . . . not among men, but among angels, and I sleep in a fairy temple," wrote the Baden liberal, Karl Mathy, in April, 1848. Rudolf Virchow, destined to become an eminent scientist and a somewhat less eminent politician, showed greater restraint: "All that we are now doing in the political field, the entire constitution, is only . . . the means by which the condition of society is to be transformed to its very foundations." Quoted in Gustav Freytag, *Karl Mathy: Geschichte seines Lebens* (Leipzig, 1872), p. 263; and Ernst Kaeber, *Berlin 1848* (Berlin, 1948), p. 138.

Nowhere did the failure of the Revolution have a profounder and more lasting effect than in Germany. In France the events of 1848 discredited the Second French Republic without, however, destroying the republican tradition; the idea of an Italy united under the liberal House of Savoy survived the defeat at Novara; the subject nationalities of the Austrian Empire continued to dream of self-government, and that dream was realized with a vengeance in 1918. But in Germany liberalism was dealt a blow from which it never recovered. It lost faith in its own mission and was never again able to win the allegiance of the masses whom it had led to defeat in 1848.

German historiography has not been unaware of the significance of the Revolution for the course of modern German history. If anything, there has been too much awareness of the fact that 1848 was a turning point. The study of the Revolution has suffered from the curse of contemporaneity, from the tendency to interpret it in the light of developments subsequent to it and very frequently irrelevant to it. The historian Hermann Oncken pointed out at the beginning of the twentieth century that "nothing is more certain than that the political and spiritual heirs of the parties of 1848 still look today upon those events with the eyes of their fathers and . . . maintain their views as shibboleths of the orthodoxy of their political ideologies."² The tendency of the present to distort the past and force it into its own intellectual formulas is nowhere more apparent than in the historiography of the German Revolution of 1848.

The first historical school to treat the Revolution in a systematic fashion and present a consistent interpretation of it was the School of the Left, inspired largely, though not exclusively, by the teachings of Karl Marx.³ Its fundamental position was stated shortly after the Revolution by Marx himself, or rather by Engels writing under Marx's name, in a series of newspaper articles later issued in book form with the title *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*.⁴ The work done by subsequent members of the school is an elaboration and defense of this Marxian thesis of 1851.

Marx and Engels had prophesied the Revolution and had awaited its arrival impatiently. They were confident that it would be the first step in the overthrow of the conservative regime in Germany and the establishment of a socialist state. Engels wrote in January, 1848, on the eve of the Revolution:

² Hermann Oncken, "Zur Genesis der preussischen Revolution von 1848," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte*, XIII (1900), 123.

³ For the non-Marxian founders of this school of historiography see Wilhelm Zimmermann, *Die deutsche Revolution* (Karlsruhe, 1848); and Bruno Bauer, *Der Untergang des Frankfurter Parlaments: Geschichte der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung* (Berlin, 1849).

⁴ Karl Marx, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (Chicago, 1912). The true authorship of these articles is discussed in Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels: Eine Biographie* (2 vols.; The Hague, 1934), II, 30.

Fight on bravely then, gentlemen of capital! We need your help, we even need your rule on occasions. You must draw from our path the relics of the Middle Ages and absolute monarchy. You must abolish patriarchalism, you must centralize, you must change all the more or less destitute classes into real proletarians, recruits for us. Your factories and trade connections must lay the foundation for the liberation of the proletariat. Your reward shall be a brief time of rule. You shall dictate laws, you shall bask in the sun of your own majesty, you shall banquet in the royal halls and woo the king's daughter—but remember! The hangman's foot is on the threshold!⁵

Yet the German middle class failed to perform the task which the socialists had assigned to it, the task of preparing the way for the rule of the proletariat. Instead, it suffered a severe defeat at the hands of a reviving conservatism. Its sin lay not in being defeated but in being defeated by the wrong party, and it was a sin for which there could be no forgiveness from Marx and Engels. In *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, therefore, they referred to the leaders and ideas of the Revolution in terms of strongest contempt: "poor, weakminded men," "the most hackneyed commonplace themes of superannuated philosophical and juridical schools," "this assembly of old women," "a body so abnormal, so ludicrous by its very position, and yet so full of its own importance, that history will, most likely, never afford a pendant to it."⁶

The School of the Left maintained that the Revolution was the child of the barricades, the work of a factory proletariat seeking to break the chains of wage slavery. The bourgeois Philistines, however, succeeded in stealing control of the revolutionary movement and diverting it for the advancement of their own class interests. They attempted to substitute the domination of industrial capitalism for the rule of a landed aristocracy, but they succeeded only in falling between two stools. They divided and alienated the working class at the same time that they antagonized the feudal conservatives. When the crisis of the Revolution came, the middle class preferred to make its peace with the reaction rather than permit the movement to follow a truly radical course of action. It betrayed the workers and collaborated with the royalist forces in the re-establishment of law and order. This great betrayal, tragic as its immediate consequences may have been, at least taught the German worker one important lesson. He learned to distrust bourgeois liberalism and turned thereafter to the one ideology which truly represented his interests, Marxian socialism.⁷

⁵ Quoted in Mayer, I, 290. Compare also the abridged English translation of this work: Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels* (New York, 1936), pp. 90-91.

⁶ Marx, pp. 78-80, 148.

⁷ For representative products of the School of the Left see Georg Adler, *Die Geschichte der ersten sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland* (Breslau, 1885); Max Quarck, *Die*

But the generation which reached maturity in the years immediately following the Revolution ignored the socialist interpretation of 1848. It was busy listening to the gospel of nationalism preached by the Prussian School, the school of Treitschke and Sybel.⁸ Born during the years of reaction which followed the Revolution, this school anticipated in its history the age of blood and iron. The historian of the Prussian School was an iron chancellor of the chair, marshaling the spiritual forces of the nation and winning battles different in kind but no less important than those of the soldier. His work was a powerful assertion of the fateful mission of the House of Hohenzollern. The Prussian School repudiated the view of history as contemplation and in its place advanced the concept of history as action. Its pages are angry, partisan, and exciting. It sought ultimate justification not in the verdict of some spineless objectivity but in the living miracle of national greatness.

What could 1848 offer to rival that miracle? At best it was a well-intentioned but hopeless effort of talkers and dreamers to play the hero. But for Treitschke and Sybel history is not made by such men. It is only the Bismarcks who can bend fate to their will and shape the destiny of a nation. The leaders of the Revolution, with their middle-class respectability and shop-keeper politics, how puny they seem by contrast, how pathetic their attempts to translate phrases and enthusiasms into action! The Prussian School put the seal of history's approval on the defeat which German liberalism suffered in the nineteenth century. It elaborated and defined the thesis of the "professors' revolution," a thesis which from that day to this has been accepted in many circles as valid.⁹

The Prussian School is in agreement on many essential points with the School of the Left. Both consider the liberals of 1848 naïve doctrinaires, who disguised selfish interests under a façade of fine phrases. Both condemn the

erste deutsche Arbeiterbewegung: Geschichte der Arbeiterverbrüderung, 1848-49 (Leipzig, 1924); and particularly *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (2 vols.; Stuttgart, 1897-98), and *Zur preussischen Geschichte* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1930), by the official historian of the German Social Democratic party, Franz Mehring.

⁸ See Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (5 vols.; Leipzig, 1879-94); and Heinrich von Sybel, *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I* (7 vols.; Munich and Leipzig, 1889-94), *passim*. While Treitschke's history does not go beyond 1847, his treatment of the growth of German constitutionalism leaves no doubt as to his antiliberal bias.

⁹ A classic formulation of this thesis was given by Bismarck himself in his speech of September 30, 1862, before the budget committee of the Prussian Diet: "The great questions of the time are not decided by speeches and majority resolutions—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood." Horst Kohl, ed., *Die politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarck* (12 vols.; Stuttgart, 1892-94), II, 30. Even liberals like Carl Schurz and Hans Viktor von Unruh who had participated in the Revolution of 1848 came later in life to accept this thesis in a modified form. See Carl Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen* (3 vols.; Berlin, 1906-12), I; and Heinrich von Poschinger, ed., *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben von Hans Viktor von Unruh* (Stuttgart, Leipzig, Berlin, Vienna, 1895), *passim*.

parliamentary tactics and legalistic scruples of the revolutionaries. Both preach the gospel of blood, iron, and action. They differ only on the protagonist of the piece. To Treitschke and Sybel it is Bismarck groping toward an awareness of his high destiny; to the Marxians it is the industrial proletariat learning the hard lesson of class interest and struggle. The Left and the Right concur, however, in the attack upon liberalism, thus forming a curious alliance frequently encountered in German history and historiography.

The dismissal of Bismarck in 1890 was soon followed by a more charitable evaluation of 1848. Politics of the Wilhelman Age, released from the paralyzing grip of the great chancellor, displayed a growing independence and originality. Liberal ideals were beginning to free themselves from the sense of inferiority under which they had labored since the foundation of the empire. On the eve of the First World War Germany appeared to be on the road toward constitutional reform. With the mounting criticism of the settlement of 1871 came a more critical attitude toward the Prussian School, whose views no longer reflected the political atmosphere of the age.

In 1892 Professor Karl Binding of the University of Leipzig delivered an academic address in which he summoned the historical profession to present a new interpretation of the Revolution.¹⁰ An objective history of 1848, he pointed out, had not yet been written. The dust raised by party struggles and ideological conflicts had made it impossible for the scholar to look at the Revolution with that calmness and dispassion which alone can produce an enduring work of history. But now almost half a century separated Germany from those terrible March days, and it was high time that the nation recognized the debt it owed to the thinkers and fighters of 1848.

His words found a favorable hearing and marked the opening of a new period of research on the Revolution. The very next year, 1893, saw the publication of Wilhelm Blos's history, the first entirely sympathetic account.¹¹ On the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution appeared Hans Blum's *Die deutsche Revolution*, in which the son of the famous liberal leader of 1848, Robert Blum, defended the cause for which his father had given his life.¹² Even conservative historians like Max Lenz and Erich Marcks, heirs of the Prussian School, accorded a grudging recognition to the idealism and devotion of the Revolution, though they expressed reservations regarding its ideology.¹³

¹⁰ Karl Binding, *Der Versuch der Reichsgründung durch die Paulskirche* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 3-4.

¹¹ Wilhelm Blos, *Die deutsche Revolution* (Stuttgart, 1893).

¹² Hans Blum, *Die deutsche Revolution, 1848-49* (Leipzig, 1898).

¹³ Max Lenz, "1848," in *Kleine historische Schriften* (Munich and Berlin, 1910); and Erich

Thereafter German scholarship began to display a growing interest in 1848 and an awareness of its historical importance. The first of Felix Rachfahl's studies of the policy of Frederick William IV appeared in 1901.¹⁴ Friedrich Meinecke published his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* in 1908, and in 1913 his *Radowitz und die deutsche Revolution* came out.¹⁵ The world of ideas of early nineteenth-century Germany found in him its most brilliant analyst. Erich Brandenburg's *Die deutsche Revolution* remains the best brief account yet written. It is balanced, judicious, and aware of the economic and social problems of the Revolution. His *Die Reichsgründung*, published four years later, placed 1848 in the broader context of the movement for German unification.¹⁶

Thus even before the establishment of the Weimar Republic the Revolution had come to attract the attention of German scholars of the very first rank. The defeat of Germany in 1918 and the collapse of the empire bestowed upon it for the first time the blessings of governmental approval. For the republicans, defending themselves against charges of foreign sympathy and alien tradition, the Revolution provided a genuinely German counterweight against the magic of Potsdam. Here was a movement of democratic enthusiasm, a rejection of king and aristocrat, a faith in popular government. To the shades of Frederick the Great and Bismarck, constantly invoked by the conservatives, the Republic could oppose the barricades and the parliaments of 1848. In 1923, for example, Professor Alfred Weber read an address in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt hailing the Revolution at the creator of an idea which seventy years later became reality.¹⁷

Under the Weimar Republic the Revolution became an inexhaustible source from which scholars, journalists, novelists, propagandists, and candidates for the doctoral degree drew with great abandon and with rather uneven results. More literature on 1848 was published in the period between 1918 and 1933 than in all the years before and since.¹⁸ Even if we subtract from this literature the trivial and superficial, of which there is quite a bit, the

Marcks, "1848," in *Männer und Zeiten: Aufsätze und Reden zur neueren Geschichte* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1911), *passim*.

¹⁴ Felix Rachfahl, *Deutschland, König Friedrich Wilhelm IV und die Berliner Märzrevolution* (Halle a. S., 1901).

¹⁵ Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates* (Munich and Berlin, 1908), and *Radowitz und die deutsche Revolution* (Berlin, 1913).

¹⁶ Erich Brandenburg, *Die deutsche Revolution* (Leipzig, 1912), and *Die Reichsgründung* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1916).

¹⁷ Alfred Weber, *Deutschland und Europa: 1848 und Heute* (Frankfurt am Main, 1923).

¹⁸ For bibliographies of this historical literature see Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1930-31), I, 611-22, II, 595-613, 687-97; and F. C. Dahlmann and Georg Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (9th ed.; Leipzig, 1931), pp. 841-70.

residue of substantial accomplishment is impressive. It is rich in biographical material, in analysis of public opinion, in local history, and in the minutiae of political life. It actually appeared for a time as if the scholar's passion for research had exceeded his capacity for assimilation and synthesis. The sheer bulk of the material dealing with the Revolution seemed to defy a truly comprehensive analysis.

But a historian equipped to cope with the immensity of 1848 did appear. In 1930-31 Veit Valentin's *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution* was published, and the world at last had a work on 1848 based upon a complete mastery of the historical data.¹⁹ Nothing is too small or obscure to escape Valentin's attention; there is no aspect of the period in which he is not completely at home. He brought to his task thirty years of study and a political outlook sympathetic to the Revolution. There was a harmony between the author and his material which enabled him to write the great liberal interpretation of 1848, at a time when German liberalism was enjoying its last golden sunset. Here was the answer to Treitschke and Sybel, the proud assertion of the republican tradition, the most impressive achievement of the Weimar School of 1848 historiography.

But despite its obvious merits, despite its erudition and analytical force, the book does not belong among the truly great works of history. It is characterized by a nervous energy, by an almost frantic quality. Valentin attempted to stuff the Revolution into thirteen hundred pages of impressionistic prose and found it a tight fit. He dissipated his strength and his reader's attention as he rushed from Frankfurt to Berlin, to Vienna, to Schleswig-Holstein, and back to Frankfurt again. He did not control and master his material; it mastered him.

This inability to reduce the vast detail of 1848 to a systematic and completely consistent account is perhaps inherent in the very nature of the subject and may thus be unavoidable. It certainly does not detract from the magnitude of Valentin's work. The *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution*, in its grand scope and painstaking craftsmanship, remains head and shoulders above any other history of the period. Every scholar doing research on 1848 must acknowledge his debt to it, for it is an encyclopedia of information indispensable to any new consideration of the Revolution. Here lies its strength and its weakness. It is encyclopedic in its completeness and thoroughness, suffering at the same time from the lack of discrimination of most encyclopedias.

¹⁹ See note 18. A condensed and eviscerated English translation of this work, which does not begin to do justice to the original, has appeared under the title *1848: Chapters of German History* (London, 1940).

Two years after the publication of the *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution* the long night descended upon Germany. The Nazi dictatorship made impossible the intellectual honesty indispensable to historical scholarship. While research in the morally neutral natural sciences continued with relatively little interference, the social sciences were reduced to loyal servants of party dogma. To history fell the task of demonstrating the long and honorable ancestry of the new political philosophy, and Nazi historiography became essentially a reinterpretation of Germany's past, proving the rightness and inevitability of the totalitarian idea.

Students of modern history in particular faced a difficult choice: to bow down to the new idols or be silent. Friedrich Meinecke, whose work since the beginning of the century had been a valiant defense of the liberal faith, was forced into retirement. Franz Schnabel continued his monumental account of Germany in the nineteenth century, but his last two volumes deal with scientific, technological, and religious development rather than with the more dangerous field of political history and theory which had occupied the earlier volumes.²⁰ Erich Marcks and Heinrich von Srbik had an easier time of it. The former's history of the foundation of the German Empire, conservative and patriotic in tone, received the imprimatur of the Third Reich.²¹ Srbik's thesis, expounded in four bulky volumes, that Austria was a vital part of the living body of German history and thought was grist for the Nazi *Anschluss* mill.²² Finally there were the old work horses of German historiography, like Paul Wentzcke, who were willing to make their peace with the new order.²³

But the true historians of the Nazi School are not to be found among these men of an earlier generation who had reached maturity under the empire or the republic and had never completely overcome the notion of objectivity in which they had been trained. For more typical devotees of the "new history" evolved by German totalitarianism we must look to younger scholars, to men like Klaus Besser and Kurt H. Neumann.²⁴

For them the Revolution of 1848 was more than the result of a doc-

²⁰ Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (4 vols.; Freiburg im Breisgau, 1929-37). In 1937 this book was suppressed in Germany.

²¹ Erich Marcks, *Der Aufstieg des Reiches: Deutsche Geschichte von 1807-1871/78* (2 vols.; Stuttgart, 1936).

²² Heinrich von Srbik, *Deutsche Einheit: Idee und Wirklichkeit* (4 vols.; Munich, 1935-42).

²³ Paul Wentzcke, who before 1933 had written a number of creditable studies of nineteenth-century German political life, published during the Nazi period a pale little history of the Revolution, *1848: Die unvollendete deutsche Revolution* (Munich, 1938), nationalistic in attitude and thus ideologically acceptable.

²⁴ Klaus Besser, *Das tolle Jahr: Die Geheimleitung einer Revolution* (Munich, 1940); and Kurt H. Neumann, *Die jüdische Verfälschung des Sozialismus in der Revolution von 1848* (Berlin, 1939), *passim*.

trinaire liberalism borrowed from foreign sources, undermining the healthy vitality of traditional institutions. Such an interpretation had been good enough for the old-fashioned conservatism of a Treitschke or a Sybel. Now 1848 was pictured as the outcome of a secret conspiracy, universal in extent and bottomless in iniquity. It was a witch's caldron, compounded of the machinations of world Jewry and the treacheries of world communism, with Jesuitical sophistry and freemasonic guile added for good measure. This conspiracy exploited the honest simplicity and genuine desire for social improvement of the German people. Frustrated in 1848, it continued its agitation, destroying the German Empire in 1918 and coming within an ace of success, until the national revolution of 1933 put a halt to it.

The period of the Third Reich thus produced a new German school of thought on the relationship of central Europe to its history and to the world at large. It also led indirectly to the rise of a school outside of Germany concerned with the same problem, but considering it from an entirely different point of view. After 1933 Germany forced itself with increasing insistence upon the attention of the West. Its assertive diplomacy, its glorification of armed might, the sheer power of the monolithic state compelled Europe to adopt a new attitude toward German territorial and military claims and led to a new evaluation of the German character. Developments east of the Rhine, which finally provoked the Second World War, appeared so inconsistent with what had been assumed to be the character of Germany that a puzzled world turned to history for a resolution of the paradox. Such a resolution was offered by a group of non-German historians who undertook to explain the German past in the light of the German present.

The new school, the Revisionist School, assumed that National Socialism was more than a malignant manifestation of the spiritual exhaustion and anarchy which had come in the wake of a ruinous war and an even more ruinous economic collapse. According to its view, the origins of the totalitarian ideology are deeply rooted in German life. They go back to the blood and iron of Bismarck, the paternalistic state of Frederick the Great, the political conservatism of Luther, and the resistance of Teutonic tribalism to the conquering, civilizing, and Christianizing influence of the Romans. All German history is in a sense a gigantic factory manufacturing barbed wire for Buchenwald and Dachau.

The historians of the Revisionist School maintain that Germany is the product of an unwholesome historical environment; it is the juvenile delinquent of European society. Once we recognize that the German mentality is different in kind from the mentality of the other nations of the West, we

have the key to German history. Hence 1848 cannot be understood in terms of the political and social forces of the nineteenth century alone. It is rather an early symptom of that terrible psychological disease which reached its logical crisis in 1933. Here in embryo is the extravagant nationalism of William II, the collapse of Weimar, the rise of National Socialism. "Had not Hitler and his associates blindly accepted the legend which latter-day liberals, German and foreign, had spun around 1848, they might well have found a great deal to extol in the *deutsche Männer und Freunde* of the Frankfort Assembly," writes L. B. Namier.²⁵

To Namier and his school the Revolution demonstrated that the Germans suffered from a form of intellectual schizophrenia: they were innocents in their parliamentarianism but Machiavellians in their power politics. Their efforts to achieve liberal institutions clearly revealed a congenital German ineptitude for self-government. The French historian Edmond Vermeil is quite emphatic on this point: "If one investigates the reasons for the disastrous climax to the events of 1848 and 1849 within the German Confederation, one discovers that they lie not so much in external causes as in the mentality of the German people."²⁶ The American Arnold Whitridge agrees: "Why did all the splendid dreams never come true? Partly because the King of Prussia never overcame his terror of democracy. . . . Partly, too, because the German people were, as indeed they still are, politically inept."²⁷ And a German expatriate, Monty Jacobs, summarizes the argument: "Why was the play bound to end tragically? Because it was a German play and because the German people, to quote the words of young Fontane, had not been brought up in liberty."²⁸

The ivory-tower academicians and beer-belly burghers may have been confused by the rules of parliamentary procedure and the intricacies of parliamentary government, but they were, according to this school, instinctively expert at waving the mailed fist. Roy Pascal observes: "In this great issue of 1848 the principles of social reform and national aggrandizement were at grips, and the pattern was made for the solution Germany was to accept in 1866-70, in 1918, and in 1933."²⁹ Peter Viereck announces in one book: "Germany's Revolution of 1848 is best summed up as a pathetic muddle.

²⁵ L. B. Namier, *1848: The Revolution of the Intellectuals* (London, 1946), p. 124.

²⁶ Edmond Vermeil, "An Historical Paradox: The Revolution of 1848 in Germany," in François Fejtö, ed., *The Opening of an Era: 1848* (London, 1948), p. 223.

²⁷ Arnold Whitridge, *Men in Crisis: The Revolutions of 1848* (New York, 1949), p. 234.

²⁸ Monty Jacobs, "The Year 1848," in Hans J. Rehfsch, ed., *In Tyrannos* (London, 1944), p. 199. See also Margaret Goldsmith, "The German 'Revolution' of 1848," *Nineteenth Century and After*, CXXX (1941), 27.

²⁹ Roy Pascal, "The Frankfort Parliament, 1848, and the *Drang nach Osten*," *Journal of Modern History*, XVIII (1946), 122. See also Namier, p. 33.

It was led by what were literally 'absent-minded professors,'" and in another book, published a few years later, he asserts: "The liberal university professors, Metternich's fiercest foes and now so prominent in 1848, were often far from the cloudy idealists pictured in our textbooks. From his own viewpoint, Bismarck erred in mocking their lack of *Realpolitik*. The majority . . . was more Bismarckian than Bismarck ever realized."³⁰ And A. J. P. Taylor, one of the most gifted members of the Revisionist School, concludes:

Never has there been a revolution so inspired by a limitless faith in the power of ideas; never has a revolution so discredited the power of ideas in its result. The success of the revolution discredited conservative ideas; the failure of the revolution discredited liberal ideas. After it, nothing remained but the idea of Force, and this idea stood at the helm of German history from then on. For the first time since 1521, the German people stepped on to the centre of the German stage only to miss their cues once more. German history reached its turning point and failed to turn. This was the fateful essence of 1848.³¹

At first glance the Revisionist School appears to have much to commend it. It is intelligent, logical, eminently readable, and its heart is in the right place. It issued a plea against brutality, oppression, and sin, a plea to which audiences in France, England, and the United States were sure to give a sympathetic hearing. Its argument is convincing because those at whom it is directed are already convinced. Its righteous indignation and fervor, however, do not of themselves constitute a valid interpretation of 1848. Its thesis is really a protest against the horrors of the National Socialist regime, and its proponents are not researchers but crusaders. However interesting the Revisionist School may be as a barometer of public opinion in the West toward the Third Reich, its contribution to a deeper understanding of the German Revolution of 1848 is one-sided at best.

The years of the Second World War and of the occupation which followed imposed such a heavy drain upon the vitality of Germany that little energy remained for study and scholarship. An intellectual and moral collapse of the country accompanied its physical destruction. By the time of the centenary of the Revolution of 1848 Germany was divided into two mutually hostile camps, one committed to the philosophy of Marx, the other to the ideals of Weimar. In the celebration of the centenary each interpreted 1848 in its own way and used the experiences of the Revolution to justify its policies.

In East Germany Alfred Meusel, writing in the *Neue Welt*, presented a standard and unimaginative Marxian account.³² Communist orthodoxy

³⁰ Peter Viereck, *Metapolitics: From the Romantics to Hitler* (New York, 1941), p. 61, and *Conservatism Revisited: The Revolt against Revolt, 1815-1949* (New York, 1949), p. 73.

³¹ A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History* (New York, 1946), p. 68.

³² Alfred Meusel, "Deutsche Revolution von 1848," *Neue Welt*, III (1948), no. 6, pp. 3-14.

pulls the wires and the puppets move dutifully across the stage: the heroic worker, the traitorous bourgeois, the helmeted and mustachioed aristocrat. The moral of the Punch-and-Judy show is that militant communism has a monopoly of social justice, while bourgeois liberalism is a disguise for exploitation and oppression. Jürgen Kuczynski, one of the best-known historians of East Germany, added a variation upon the theme. The fate of the Revolution, he pointed out, is a warning to the twentieth century of the dangers of a policy of compromise. The bourgeoisie failed in 1848 for obvious reasons: "It wanted to organize a so-called 'third force.' But when it constituted itself as a 'third force,' that is, when it did not commit itself to progress, it became an appendage of the reaction, as is the fate of every 'third-force.'" ³³ For Kuczynski's readers the significance of these remarks for contemporary politics must have been obvious. S. Kan published an article in the *Voprosy istorii* in which he maintained that in 1848 the radical republicans and communists were the true bearers of the revolutionary tradition in Germany. While they had not mastered the technique of revolution and were therefore unable to rally the masses against the feudal and bourgeois reaction, they meant well and they therefore merit careful and respectful study. ³⁴

West Germany greeted the centenary with little of the strident and artificial enthusiasm of the East. Its mood was subdued and obviously tired. Committed once more to a republican ideology, it saluted the Revolution in the spirit of Weimar. But the words, uttered amid ruins and hunger, lacked the fire of conviction. They revealed the exhaustion and hopelessness which held Germany in their grip after the Second World War.

Theodor Heuss, soon to become president of the West German Republic, praised the heritage of democratic idealism and national consciousness which the men of 1848 had left to those of 1948. ³⁵ Wilhelm Mommsen was somewhat more reserved in his treatment of the Revolution: "If today, in spite of zonal boundaries and state particularism, in spite of the deep gulf between East and West, the German people has remained a political community, everywhere concerned with the same problems and cares, then that is perhaps the most important political outcome of the year 1848." ³⁶ Rudolf Stadelmann restated the traditional liberal interpretation of 1848, expressing, however,

³³ Jürgen Kuczynski, *Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Voraussetzungen der Revolution von 1848-1849* (Berlin, 1948), p. 20.

³⁴ S. Kan, "Predparlament i pervoe badenskoie vosstanie 1848 goda" [the Vorparlament and the first Baden uprising of 1848], *Voprosy istorii*, 1948, no. 5, p. 78.

³⁵ Theodor Heuss, 1848: *Werk und Erbe* (Stuttgart, 1948), pp. 166-67.

³⁶ Wilhelm Mommsen, *Grösse und Versagen des deutschen Bürgertums: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jahre 1848-1849* (Stuttgart, 1949), p. 216. Mommsen's reserve is quite understandable, since before 1945 he had been greatly impressed with the achievements of the Third Reich. See his *Deutschland und Europa, 1850-1933* (Frankfurt am Main, 1944), *passim*.

impatience with the political naïveté and timidity of the German middle class.³⁷

Yet the appraisal of the Revolution which best revealed the mood of tired idealism did not come from the pen of a German scholar but from an Englishman who had long been a sympathetic student of German history. G. P. Gooch, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, sought to strike a note of cautious optimism: "The outstanding political achievement of the German people in the nineteenth century was the creation of a nation-state, and the Year of Revolution was a milestone on the road. It is the story of a courageous experiment, of a bitter disappointment, of high-minded patriots confronted by a superhuman task. Yet it was not wholly a failure, for it formulated lofty ideals and bequeathed inspiring memories. Few historic conflicts on a wide front are won at the first attack."³⁸

It is the ghost of Weimar speaking. The truth is that neither East nor West possesses the intellectual zest or even the interest to present a new interpretation of 1848. The Revolution is no longer the vital problem in German politics which it was for almost a hundred years. In central Europe, at least, it has been relegated to the limbo of history, where it is accorded that platitudinous respect tantamount to neglect which the present usually pays to the dead past.

But the fact that the German Revolution of 1848 has ceased to be a controversial party issue is not without its advantages. It means, first of all, that the time is ripe for a reappraisal of the problems which have monopolized the attention of earlier schools. Secondly, the historian can now raise the question whether these problems have actually involved all aspects of 1848, or whether they have rather obscured certain issues which did not appear relevant to the political struggles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In other words, we are at present in a position to examine anew the body of material on the Revolution which a hundred years of research have assembled.

Historians have in the past been primarily concerned with two questions which emerged in 1848: German liberalism and German nationalism. The concern is understandable enough, since these two questions were very much alive in the modern period of German history and had an influence on the history of Europe as a whole. What is more, the men of 1848 themselves were very much interested in them and spent a good deal of effort in attempting to solve them. It is quite natural that a later generation, faced by the same

³⁷ Rudolf Stadelmann, *Soziale und politische Geschichte der Revolution von 1848* (Munich, 1948), and "Das Jahr 1848 und die deutsche Geschichte," *Deutsche Rundschau*, LXXI (1948), 99-110.

³⁸ G. P. Gooch, "The Centenary of 1848 in Germany and Austria," *Contemporary Review*, CLXXIII (1948), 220.

problems, should have been concerned with their origins and background.

These problems are by their nature political and ideological. Their solutions involve attitudes toward the organization of a political community and suggest a course of action to be followed by that community. They thus imply a standard of judgment and a set of values which must compete for loyalty with other standards and values. This competitive quality accounts for the controversial character of so much of 1848 scholarship.

The assumptions underlying the liberal philosophy of the state have not been accepted in Germany as easily and uncritically as in England or the United States. There has always been in German life a strong tradition of political conservatism. The historiography of the Revolution reflects a conflict of ideas which has been basic in German history since 1815. The Prussian School and the Weimar School represented political movements rather than scholarly theories. The differences which separated them were the differences which separated the conservative from the republican ideology. These schools were able to enjoy wide popular interest because they were in a sense dealing with popular issues. They won more attention than is usually given to works of history, but they had to pay a high price for this popularity. They were forced to identify themselves with some political faction, slant their writing accordingly, and minimize those aspects of the Revolution which were of no value in the party controversies of the day.

The problem of nationalism in 1848 never became a center of dispute in German historiography to the same extent that liberalism did. The Revolution was a step in the process by which the German people in the nineteenth century came to form a united political entity for the first time since the days of the Hohenstaufens. There was virtual unanimity among German political parties on the desirability of national unification, and while scholars differed among themselves as to the justice of the means used in achieving unification, the end itself, a united nation, was never questioned in Germany. It was challenged only by scholars of other countries who felt that their national interests or the security of Europe as a whole were threatened by the rise of a powerful German state dominated by Prussia.³⁹

The concern of the historian with the two problems of liberalism and nationalism led to the growth of a historical literature of the very highest order. Sybel, Brandenburg, Valentin, Marcks, all in turn devoted their talents

³⁹ Among these scholars were members of the Austrian School, which refused to accept the verdict of Sadowa as final. Before the First World War its chief proponents were Onno Klopp, Josef Alexander von Helfert, and Heinrich Friedjung. More recently Viktor Bibl, Josef Nadler, and Heinrich von Srbik have carried on its tradition. After 1933 the methods and results of the German national movement were also bitterly attacked by the historians of the Revisionist School. See above, pp. 35-37.

to an examination of the Revolution. We now know almost more than we care to know about the theoretical foundations of German constitutionalism, about the Austro-Prussian rivalry for the control of Germany, about the Frankfurt Parliament, about the policies of Frederick William IV. Indeed, so thoroughly have these problems been explored that there is evidence that the spring is beginning to dry up. Since 1933 we have had very little original research on the Revolution. Instead, historians have tended more and more to interpret, reinterpret, and reinterpret again the already known material. A kind of historical scholasticism has replaced historical scholarship.

It would nevertheless be premature to conclude that the last word on the Revolution of 1848 has been said, and that only bones for doctoral dissertations remain to be picked. It would seem rather that the historian is now at the point where he can undertake a new analysis of 1848, an analysis based on a new frame of reference. He can now apply to this task not only the information contained in the standard accounts of the Revolution but also the wealth of monographic literature published since 1918 and a mass of valuable, hitherto unused primary materials.⁴⁰

Such an analysis would meet a need which has long been felt. By the beginning of the twentieth century there were several scholars who were dissatisfied with what they considered to be an overly intellectual approach to 1848. Konrad Bornhak had suggested in the third volume of his history of the Prussian administrative system that the Revolution of 1848 was fundamentally a conflict between industrial capitalism and a feudal agrarianism, and that economic interests lay behind the war of ideology and politics.⁴¹ A little later Hugo Preuss and Max Lenz stressed the importance of social and economic problems in bringing on the storm of 1848, and Erich Marcks maintained that a sound history of the Revolution must investigate and determine the relationship between the political ideals of the period and the structure of German society.⁴² It was Erich Brandenburg, however, who in *Die Reichsgründung* first attempted to define systematically the distinction between the constitutional movement and the demand for economic reform which emerged during the Revolution:

While the liberals, . . . under the influence of the political developments and intellectual currents of the time, called above all for political changes, the lower classes, in so far as they participated in the Revolution, demanded essentially eco-

⁴⁰ Among such unused materials are the voluminous records of the Economic Committee of the Frankfurt Parliament, which have survived the Second World War and are available in the Frankfurt municipal archives.

⁴¹ Conrad Bornhak, *Geschichte des preussischen Verwaltungsrechts* (3 vols.; Berlin, 1884-86), III, 223, 225.

⁴² Hugo Preuss, *Die Junkerfrage* (Berlin, 1897), p. 48; Lenz, in *Kleine historische Schriften*, p. 358; and Marcks, in *Männer und Zeiten*, I, 216.

conomic advantages and fought against the existing authorities only because they believed they could expect no satisfaction of their demands from these authorities. . . . When their economic demands were met, or when they saw that the system sought by the liberals promised them as little satisfaction as the old system, then these classes lost all interest in the political movement.⁴³

This interpretation of 1848 involved Brandenburg in a polemic with Friedrich Meinecke in the pages of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. Meinecke had acquired a reputation as a brilliant student of ideas by publishing in 1908 his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, a masterpiece of intellectual history.⁴⁴ In it he had analyzed the theoretical assumptions and philosophic background of early German nationalism and had asserted the importance of ideology as a determinant of the course of history. It is not surprising that his review of Brandenburg's *Die Reichsgründung* was critical of the author's insistence upon economic and social causation and advanced the view that liberalism was to be understood primarily in terms of its intellectual content.⁴⁵

In his reply to Meinecke's review Brandenburg attacked this emphasis upon pure idea: "But the . . . error which I sought to refute," he wrote, "lay in the notion that the rise of political liberalism may be adequately explained by intellectual causes. The intellectual disposition toward it must certainly have existed, but a powerful external experience was necessary to transform it into a politically effective force."⁴⁶ Brandenburg indicated what he believed the nature of this powerful external experience to have been: "I remain of the opinion that for the masses elemental experiences, experiences affecting and disturbing them in their daily, personal lives, are more powerful motives than doctrines and theories which are handed down to them from above. Only through the former are slumbering impulses and needs aroused or forced into the foreground of their consciousness."⁴⁷

Brandenburg was thus calling for an examination of those historical developments in Germany which by 1848 had created a revolutionary situation. He was suggesting that the outbreak of the Revolution was in some way related to social and economic changes acting upon the structure of German society. He was in effect asking his readers whether the ideals of unity and freedom, ideals derived from a highly sophisticated view of life, can inspire a population composed largely of politically illiterate peasants and artisans to a violent uprising against the government. And his answer was

⁴³ Brandenburg, *Reichsgründung*, I, 294-95.

⁴⁴ See note 15.

⁴⁵ Friedrich Meinecke, "Zur Geschichte des älteren deutschen Parteiwesens," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXVIII (1917), 46-62.

⁴⁶ Erich Brandenburg, "Zum älteren deutschen Parteiwesen," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXIX (1919), 73.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

that the broad masses are moved to revolution only by "experiences affecting and disturbing them in their daily, personal lives."

In the years that followed the clash between Meinecke and Brandenburg, historians tended more and more to stress the issue which the latter had raised. Franz Schnabel, whose history of Germany promises to inherit Treitschke's laurels, has pointed to the close connection between the constitutional movement and industrial development.⁴⁸ Hans Rosenberg has advanced the view that 1848 lent a powerful impetus to the creation of economic conditions essential to an industrial state.⁴⁹ Pierre Benaerts, who has given us the best study by far of the early growth of German industry, has criticized the exclusively political approach of the historians of the Revolution and has insisted that 1848 had its roots in material conditions.⁵⁰ Hugo C. M. Wendel described the decline of the German artisan class and its effect on the events of 1848.⁵¹ Marcus L. Hansen tried to relate the outbreak of the Revolution to the economic crisis of the 1840's.⁵² In 1949 Oscar J. Hammen, writing in the *American Historical Review*, observed: "Economic and social factors helped to precipitate and to determine the course of the German Revolution of 1848. Yet, aside from a number of special studies by German historians, the standard accounts of the Revolution of 1848 place an almost exclusive emphasis upon the political aspects of the movement and upon the constitutional and national strivings of the liberal middle class. Generally ignored are the economic and social considerations which made the masses ripe for revolution."⁵³

Brandenburg's victory was finally admitted by his former opponent, Meinecke himself. The grand old man of German historiography took up his pen in 1948 to greet the centenary of Germany's great revolution. Three decades separated him from those early controversies with Brandenburg, three decades of broken dreams and disappointed hopes. The octogenarian was no longer certain of the influence of ideas in a world of violence and force. He wrote in his article: "The German revolution of 1848, admittedly, shows not only an all-pervading spirit of idealism, which often outstripped reality and became ideological. It also brought to bear what in actual effect was more

⁴⁸ Schnabel, III, 297.

⁴⁹ Hans Rosenberg, *Die Weltwirtschaftskrise von 1857-59* (Stuttgart, 1934), p. 17.

⁵⁰ Pierre Benaerts, *Les origines de la grande industrie allemande* (Paris, 1933), pp. 171-72.

⁵¹ Hugo C. M. Wendel, *The Evolution of Industrial Freedom in Prussia, 1845-1849* (New York, 1921), *passim*.

⁵² Marcus L. Hansen, "The Revolutions of 1848 and German Emigration," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II (1930), 649-51.

⁵³ Oscar J. Hammen, "Economic and Social Factors in the Prussian Rhineland in 1848," *American Historical Review*, LIV (1949), 825. This article not only exposes a gap in the history of 1848 but also helps to fill it by dealing with the economic discontent in western Germany which contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution.

powerful—the reality itself, the massive and elemental interests of individuals and social groups.”⁵⁴ The shade of Brandenburg in the Valhalla of departed German historians must have smiled. His view was vindicated at last.

The implications of that view are clear. The historian with imagination, the historian who knows what to ask and where to look, will still find in the German Revolution of 1848 a rich field for original research. He will some day be able to tell us why the German peasantry revolted, what it wanted, and what it got. He will describe the conflicting interests of the new factory proletariat and the older system of artisan guilds. He will discuss the political and economic demands of the liberal middle class and interpret constitutional reform in the light of those demands. He will analyze the social policies of the conservative aristocracy and explain its eventual success on the basis of those policies. Above all, he will meet the standard which Hermann Oncken established more than fifty years ago for the future historian of the Revolution: “Ultimate questions of guilt or innocence, justice or injustice will not be decided, but out of all the humiliation and weakness of those days a deeper significance emerges. The highest task of the historian is to comprehend that significance in the spirit of the injunction of Tacitus: *res humanas neque lugere neque ridere, sed intelligere*.”⁵⁵

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⁵⁴ Friedrich Meinecke, “The Year 1848 in German History: Reflections on a Centenary,” *Review of Politics*, X (1948), 479. This article is an abridged translation of the author’s 1848: *Eine Säkularbetrachtung* (Berlin, 1948).

⁵⁵ Oncken, in *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte*, XIII, 152.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Madison, the "North American," on Federal Power

IRVING BRANT

IN Volume VI of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* doubt is expressed about James Madison's authorship of "The North American No. 1" and "No. 2," published anonymously in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia) of September 17 and October 8, 1783.¹ The editors of the Jefferson Papers recognize that the views expressed in these articles coincide in general with those held by Madison at the time. However, they do not see a definite indication of authorship in a comment made then by him to Jefferson. Without expressing positive disbelief, they question the style, which differs widely from that employed by Madison in his correspondence and public addresses, and are inclined to look to the self-interest of several parts of the Union, not including Virginia, for an indication of the state citizenship of the author.

The matter is worthy of serious inquiry because these articles, important under any circumstances, have additional significance if written by Madison. Published four years before the meeting of the Federal Convention, they combine a discussion of current issues with the revelation of a frame of mind contemptuous of state sovereignty. If Madison was the author, it means that feeling against the states had reached an emotional pitch in the foremost framer of the Constitution, even before the definitive termination of the Revolutionary War, before Shays' Rebellion stirred fear among men of property, before the weak national government was prostrated by New York's refusal to ratify an amendment of the Articles of Confederation granting Congress power to levy impost duties. No matter who he was, "North American" dealt with 1783 questions of governmental power, jurisdiction and purposes in a way that makes his opinions acutely relevant to similar controversies today, for example, the treaty power of the United States and federal control of lands and resources.

The "North American" articles were republished in the *William and Mary Quarterly* of October, 1946, with editorial foreword and notes by me.

¹ This newspaper was owned by the family of Pennsylvania's Attorney General William Bradford, who had been Madison's most intimate friend in college at Princeton.

Although similarities to Madison's attitude in the Continental Congress were pointed out, no definite effort was made to carry the evidence of his authorship beyond a postscript to his letter of September 30, 1783, to Thomas Jefferson: "As the latest papers are very barren, I inclose a former one containing No. 1 of the N. American, leaving the Author to your conjectures."

That remark could mean either of two things: that Madison wrote the articles himself and took this method (a conventional one) of revealing the fact to a trusted friend; or that he knew, or thought he knew, who did write them, and believed that Jefferson would be able to identify the author from internal evidence. In publishing Madison's letter of September 30, the Jefferson editors affixed this footnote to it:

On the basis of Madison's remark in the present letter to TJ, both Burnett (tentatively) and Brant (positively) ascribe the authorship to Madison himself . . . [citations] . . . In general the views coincide with the national sentiments entertained by both Madison and TJ, but the style at times borders on hyperbole and is, as Mr. Brant acknowledges, both declamatory and akin to the "poetic fervor of his early days in the American Whig Society." (Madison, II, 302.) The editors think an equally good argument could be made for attributing these essays to someone from one of the eastern commercial states (a Philadelphian or a New Yorker) or to someone from one of the small states having no western land claims (Maryland or New Jersey). They feel that the reference in the present letter cannot be accepted unqualifiedly as sufficient basis for establishing Madison's claim to authorship. If Madison was the author, one wonders why he did not enclose North American No. 1 in his letter of 20 Sep. or why he made no reference in the present letter to a forthcoming North American No. 2.²

It is true, of course, that Madison's reference in the September 30 letter ought not to be accepted as unqualified proof of authorship. Dr. Edmund C. Burnett's ascription of the articles to him was tentative, quite naturally, because the editing of the letters of members of the Continental Congress did not involve a probative examination of the articles referred to. My later and similar conclusion was stated positively because of an examination which, owing to absence of prior dissent, was not fully employed to sustain the ascription.

To consider incidental matters first, it is not difficult to think of reasons why an article published in Philadelphia on September 17 should not have been sent to Jefferson in a letter posted three days later. The most obvious is that, living in Princeton, New Jersey, Madison may not have received it. Allowing for the difference between horses and railway locomotives, Princeton was about as far from Philadelphia in 1783 as Chicago is now. Would anybody, today, question the authorship of an article published in Philadelphia because a person living in Chicago did not send it to a friend three

² *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, et al., VI (Princeton, 1952), 342.

days later? As for not telling Jefferson that a second article was to be published, "No. 1" in the title of the first carried the presumption of a second.

Supplementing the comment made to Jefferson is the fact that if Madison did not write these articles, he wrote something else no less ambitious at the same time—something else which has never turned up. After Congress moved to Princeton in June of 1783, driven out of Philadelphia by a mutiny in the Continental Army, Madison went back to the Pennsylvania capital and spent most of the summer there. Required to leave Congress in the fall because of the constitutional limit of three years' consecutive service, he was engaged, he wrote to Jefferson from Philadelphia, in preparations for his return to Virginia, and in "some writing which, my papers being all here, could not be so well done elsewhere."³ The reference to his papers marks the writing as of a public nature. Since he always spoke extemporaneously in Congress, the writing could hardly have been for any other purpose than newspaper publication.

The "North American" articles had a multiple purpose: (1) To encourage state legislatures to approve the grant of power to Congress to tax imports. (2) To strengthen the national obligation to pay defaulted war debts to France and settle the overdue claims of Revolutionary War veterans and suppliers. (3) To arouse the American people to the evil effects of state roadblocks in the conduct of foreign affairs. (4) To promote the relinquishment of Virginia's northwestern land claims to the federal government. (5) To intensify the devotion of the people to liberty and national union.

Broadly speaking, all these desires could have been held by most of the men who worked ardently, four years later, to establish a strong Constitution. But is it correct to conclude, as the Jefferson editors do, that this particular publication of them could as easily be attributed "to someone from one of the eastern commercial states (a Philadelphian or a New Yorker) or to someone from one of the smaller states having no western land claims (Maryland or New Jersey)"?

Limiting the subject to revenue and national credit in general, that would be true. In discussing the necessities of federal finance and the evils of state-enacted commercial regulations, "North American" paraphrased Madison's famous "Address to the States," adopted by Congress on April 26, 1783.⁴ That, however, is no indication that he wrote both, for the address and the antecedent resolutions of Congress had been published all over the country. Any-

³ Madison to Jefferson, July 17, 1783, *ibid.*, VI, 318.

⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress* ed. Worthington C. Ford and Gaillard Hunt, XXIV, 277-83 (Apr. 26, 1783).

body could have drawn upon them for content and phraseology, and no state was without public supporters of the policies imbedded in them.

However, both of those documents had back of them an unpublished committee report drafted by Madison and submitted to Congress on March 6. Who except Madison himself would have expanded the revenue theme, in the "North American" articles, to cover *rejected portions* of his report to Congress? This comes close to limiting the authorship of the articles to members of Congress, and to those members who supported both of Madison's defeated proposals. Virginia was the only state that voted for one of them. Madison and Joseph Jones were the only nationalistic Virginia delegates, and nobody is likely to attribute these articles to Jones.⁵

Any commercial-minded nationalist possessing a ready pen might have written as "North American" did about federal weakness, sectional strife, and foreign discrimination against American trade. But these comments were in the second article, not published until October 8. Before that time, Madison both duplicated the thought and paraphrased the expression of it in writing to Jefferson and Edmund Randolph. In his letter of September 20 to Jefferson, and in "North American's" October article, the exclusion of American ships from the West Indian trade was linked with a British effort to obtain a monopoly of manufactures. Not only that, but the same reasoning was put behind the program in each instance. Great Britain, Madison wrote to Jefferson, relied on "the impotence of the foederal government." Great Britain's hostile trade attack, said "North American," sprang from "an early conviction, that we could not act as a nation." It was maintained in Britain, Madison wrote to Randolph on August 30, "that the interests of the states are so opposite in matters of commerce, and the authority of Congress so feeble that no defensive precautions need be feared on the part of the U.S." Echoed "North American" in October: "Apprized that there was no general legislative power . . . they presumed that the varying interests of the several states . . . would render abortive any restrictions or regulations with which we might combat their attempts." In this August letter to Randolph, Madison told of a British proposal that "the vessels of one state [of the Union] shall not be permitted to carry the product of another to any British port." In October, "North American" gave the reason for it: "By confining advantages

⁵ The rejected portions of Madison's report dealt with federal assumption of state war debts, first proposed by him, and a rebate of federal claims against war-devastated states, proposed by Alexander Hamilton. The latter was so disgusted over the defeat of the rebate clause that he voted against the final resolutions and washed his hands of the whole undertaking. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXIV, 170-74, 255-56, 261. *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt, I, 395-96, 431-33, 451-52.

to one state, whilst they dart the keen force of resentment on another, they hope to rouse the jealousy of all."⁶

That all of this came from the same pen seems obvious, but what strikes home in the year 1954 is the way this protest applies to current questions concerning the treaty-making power of the United States. The chief difference is that in 1783 the treaty power itself was unrestricted but could not be employed effectively because of the general weakness of the federal government and the violation of treaties by the states. Today the proposal is to create a specific restraint and thereby impair the general strength of the federal government, while the power of the states, remaining ever proportionate to the strength of local interests, could be converted into lawful obstruction by a constitutional sanction.

We have seen, thus far, that Madison's apparent avowal of authorship, in his September 30 letter to Jefferson, is supported by the fact of his writing activities in Philadelphia (otherwise unexplained), by "North American's" resort to rejected portions of Madison's report to Congress, and by the striking similarity between Madison's letters of August and September, 1783, and the second "North American" article published in October. There remains the subject of the western lands, in which "North American" took a position which supported the economic interest of Maryland and New Jersey, in opposition to that of Virginia. Approving the contention that this vast possession ought to be the common property of the nation, the anonymous writer said of the small states:

Will they not with an united voice, and the voice of truth alledge, that these lands were wrested from the Crown of England, for whose emolument, and not for the benefit of any class of citizens of these United States would they have been sold, but for that revolution which has been effected by their joint expence of blood and treasure.

Because that was the historic position of Maryland and New Jersey, one might readily assume (setting aside all other factors) that the article could logically have come from a citizen of one of those states. That would be true, if this statement stood alone. But here is the next sentence in the article, with italics added:

On the other hand the States, *who claim under their charters*, most considerable in number, *and incomparably so in power*, will most probably contend for and defend rights, which they asserted as early as the Confederation was proposed, and which *seem to be established* by the unanimous concurrence of the States in that act of union.

⁶ Madison to Edmund Randolph, Sept. 30, 1783; Madison to Jefferson, Sept. 20, 1783, *ibid*, II, 11, 18.

The italicized portions of that statement contain and approve the legal foundation of Virginia's claim to the Old Northwest, backing it with a suggestion of force. This could not conceivably have come from any citizen of Maryland or New Jersey—states whose ratification of the Confederation was linked with a passionate denial of Virginia's charter claims. It could not have come from New York, whose western land title, based on purchases from Indian tribes, had been transferred to the United States for the specific purpose, among other things, of undermining the Virginia charter claims to much of the same territory. It could not have come from Pennsylvania, whose violent and almost bloody dispute with Virginia, over the validity of the latter's claim that her northern boundary ran northwesterly to the Mississippi (if not to the Pacific Ocean), was not settled until 1784. It was, in fact, a one-sentence summary of Virginia's legal position.

"North American," therefore, was a man who supported Virginia's claim to the country north of the Ohio River, as a technical question of law, but who, faced with the assertion of the small states that the West was the common property of the nation, won in war by all for all, agreed to the truth of that contention as a matter of justice. That had been Madison's exact position for three years. In September, 1780, he and Joseph Jones used the Maryland slogan, "a common fund," in a congressional resolution calling upon their own and other landed states to transfer their western possessions to the federal government for the sake of harmony and union. They risked their political lives by this bold stroke, which won reluctant approval in Virginia under the coercive force of a British invasion under General Benedict Arnold, and was now (in September 1783) facing a critical vote in Congress on the terms of cession.⁷

Thus James Madison was virtually the only man in the United States who would and could have written both of the statements about western lands, quoted above from "North American," just as he was the only man who would have been likely to draw upon the rejected portions of his report to Congress on federal finances. His citation of the superior power of the landed states was a flourish of the "Big Knife" (a name for the Old Dominion sometimes used by congressmen as well as Indians) to induce the small states to accept some of the reservations which Virginia had made in her act of cession. In emphasizing the justice of the national claim, he was pressing two of his state colleagues in Congress, Arthur Lee and Theodorick Bland, to give way on Virginia's unacceptable demand for a federal guaranty of her remaining territory. As matters turned out, he won a quick victory, the Madison com-

⁷ Irving Brant, *James Madison: The Nationalist, 1780-1787* (Indianapolis, 1948), pp. 89-94, 99, 156.

promise resolution going through Congress on September 13, four days before publication of the article designed to aid it.

Had political conditions been different, Madison almost certainly would have given not only moral backing (which he did) but also legal support to the small-state contention that the western lands belonged to the nation through acquisition from the British crown. Overt adherence to that doctrine would have been politically fatal to a Virginian. In public debate Madison called it absurd, yet he went far toward having it accepted by others. In August, 1782, he moved that Congress authorize a committee to send to the American peace commissioners in Paris whatever information it might have collected that would be useful to them. What he wanted to do, it turned out, was to send them, without Lee and Bland learning of it, a statement about western lands prepared by himself and Edmund Randolph. The commissioners were to be informed, though not formally instructed, that if the vacant lands could not be demanded in the treaty of peace "upon the titles of individual states, they are to be deemed to have been the property of his Britannic majesty immediately before the Revolution, and to be now devolved upon the United States collectively taken."⁸

Today, inside and outside governmental circles, arguments are made based upon the supposition that national ownership of vacant lands is a federal usurpation upon the natural and traditional rights of individual states. Actually, the Maryland revolutionary convention spoke for the American people when it took a stand in 1776 for common ownership of lands "secured by the blood and treasure of all."⁹ Everything that followed in the state and federal councils, in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, in the framing of legislative policy during the next century and a half, was in its basic aspect (that is, apart from despoliation raids) a ratification of this original principle. The people of the entire nation demanded, and obtained, equal access to the vacant agricultural lands of the West, not only in the territories but in the states formed out of them. It was for the benefit of all the American people—descendants of those who established national ownership in the eighteenth century—that national forests were reserved, national parks created, watersheds protected, range lands controlled, oil reserves proclaimed.

Most people today seem unaware of the history of the public lands—totally unaware, especially, of their place in the emotions of the American people during and immediately after the Revolution. How well Madison was aware of this feeling, and how unfading the impression it made on him, was made

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 151–52. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXIII, 468–69, 516–17.

⁹ "Proceedings of the Maryland Convention of 1776," in Peter Force, *American Archives*, 5th series, III, 178.

evident by his response to an inquiry made of him by former Governor Edward Coles of Illinois in 1831. "You request an answer at length," he remarked in his reply, "to the claim of the new states to the federal lands within their limits." It was impossible for him to comply, at the age of eighty and after a lapse of fifty years, with infirmities added, but he felt "the less regret at being obliged to shrink from the task" of furnishing arguments against the claim because there were many others equally or better qualified to do so. Furthermore, "it cannot be long before the claim if not abandoned must be taken up in Congress where it can and will be demolished unless indeed the able champions be kept back by a hankering after western popularity." Madison then recorded his opinion:

In my situation I can only say, & for yourself *not for the press*, that I have always viewed the claim as so unfair & unjust; so contrary to the certain & notorious intentions of the parties to the case & so directly in the teeth of the condition on which the lands were ceded to the union that if a technical title could be made out by the claimants it ought in conscience and honor to be waived. But the title in the people of the United States rests on a foundation too just & solid to be shaken by any technical or metaphysical arguments whatever. The known & acknowledged intentions of the parties at the time, with a prescriptive sanction of so many years consecrated by the intrinsic principle of equity, would overrule the most explicit terms; as has been done without the aid of that principle in the slaves, who remain such in spite [*sic*] of the declarations that all men are born equally free.¹⁰

Here is a statement that, at the time the government was formed, the people stood as ardently for the principle of national ownership of western lands as slaveholders stood for the principle of slavery. In the light of subsequent history, that means they would have fought for it. This testimony comes from the man who played the chief role, both in the establishment of the public domain and in the writing of the Constitution. Madison engineered a land movement whose failure would have wrecked the Union, whose success led to a public land system long adhered to constitutionally. The land cessions made by individual states to Congress in the eighteenth century were not transfers of warrantable titles but quitclaims to the common heritage of the American people. The vague and conflicting claims of individual states were swept away in the tide of an irresistible assertion of national sovereignty. It was this principle, as old as the nation, that the Supreme Court recently upheld in the offshore oil cases.

With this inquiry into eighteenth-century feeling, it becomes easy to understand why "North American" was chosen as the pseudonym of the author of the 1783 articles. It was a continental utterance. It becomes easy to see why

¹⁰ James to Edward Coles (draft), June 28, 1831, Madison Papers (Library of Congress), LXXXV, 40.

the papers were written in a rhetorical key more highly pitched than Madison ordinarily employed. His use of such a style, before or afterwards, was by no means confined to his youthful writings for the American Whig Society of the College of New Jersey. Nobody, judging him by *The Federalist* or by his sober-toned correspondence, would pick him as the author of the final paragraph of the "North American" articles, opening with the apotheosis "Liberty! thou emanation from the all-beauteous and celestial mind!" But who would have picked him as the author of the anonymous dialogue in Freneau's *National Gazette* of December 20, 1792, entitled, "Who are the Best Keepers of the People's Liberties?" There, resuming the theme of the celestial emanation of liberty, he challenged the doctrine of "Anti-Republican" that *power* was the central object of the social system "and *Liberty* but its satellite." When "Anti-Republican" sneeringly replies that "the science of the stars can never instruct you in the mysteries of government," he is informed by "Republican" that those who see mysteries in government are inferior beings endowed with but "a ray perhaps of the twilight vouchsafed to the first order of terrestrial creation."¹¹

That, surely, is sufficient to harmonize the style of "North American" with that of Madison in his anonymous contribution to the *National Gazette*. He acknowledged these articles in later years but could not acknowledge the earlier ones without giving dramatic emphasis to his pre-constitutional hostility to state sovereignty—a hostility which is evident in his private correspondence in the 1780's, and in his own record of his speeches in the Federal Convention, but which he put out of sight after his nationalism evaporated in conflict with Hamilton and the Federalists. Least of all could he reveal that he was the author of articles not merely nationalistic in content but pitched to a high emotional tone in their assault on state sovereignty. Madison would have been crucified in the 1820's or later, had it been known that in 1783 he described the states in terms of "their individual impotence and insignificance"—bodies which, unless held together by strict bonds of national government, would find their "splendor of sovereignty" illumined in the wretchedness of their citizens, perpetuating, for the authors of the Revolution, only "the infamy of their names."

Yet it was in his later years, after his early nationalism had vanished, that he wrote his sweeping affirmation of the overruling right of the whole nation to the public lands. It was in this period, also, that he placed among his papers, for publication after his death, the "Advice to My Country" of one who "adhered throughout his life to the cause of its liberty":

¹¹ *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, VI, 120-23.

The advice nearest to my heart and deepest in my convictions is that the Union of the States be cherished and perpetuated. Let the open enemy to it be regarded as a Pandora, with her box opened, and the disguised one, as the serpent creeping with his deadly wiles into Paradise.¹²

What is that but the mature expression, after forty years of public life, of the more rhetorical utterance of 1783 in the closing paragraph of the "North American" articles:

Liberty! thou emanation from the all-beauteous and celestial mind! . . . the band of patriots who are here thy votaries . . . will instill this holy truth into the infant minds of their children, and teach them to hold it sacred, even as the divine aphorisms of religion, that the SAFETY of AMERICA will be found in her UNION.

Washington, D. C.

¹² *Ibid*, IX, 610.

Men of Letters and *Lettres de cachet* in the Administration of Cardinal Fleury

ARTHUR M. WILSON

REGARDING *lettres de cachet*, apologists for the *ancien régime* in France have been at pains to suggest, first, that the *lettres* were used sparingly and, secondly, that they served chiefly as a means for enforcing family discipline.¹ Thus their defenders imply that, since the *lettres* were not *primarily* intended as an instrument for suppressing political discontents, they did not constitute a very serious threat to what would now be called the civil liberties of the king's subjects. This flattering estimate of the situation has, however, been assailed. The leading contemporary historian of Jansenism asserts that 40,000 *lettres de cachet* were issued in the seventeen years of Cardinal Fleury's administration alone.² And it is interesting to discover evidence—and that in the form of one of the comparatively rare letters in Fleury's own hand—that during his administration there were enough men of letters among the *prisonniers d'Etat* to become the object of his concern. Moreover, in some prisons, the majority of the *prisonniers d'Etat* were men of letters. This evidence, contained in a letter to the abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662-1743), who was Royal Librarian from 1718 to 1741, is now to be found in the *archives administratives* of the Bibliothèque nationale:

A font^{au} ce 8. Juillet 1731

Il y a, Monsieur, dans quelques chateaux des prisonniers d'Etat dont la plupart sont gens de lettres et auxquels on propose de donner quelque recreation par des livres, et on m'a fait demander de ceux qui peuvent se trouver doubles dans la Bibliothèque du Roy. Si vous en avez de cette espece dont on puisse disposer pour cet usage je vous prie de me le faire savoir a fin que j'en envoie dans ces endroits. Je vous honore, Monsieur, tres parfaitement

le Card. de fleury

M l'Abbé Bignon.³

Dartmouth College

¹See especially Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Les lettres de cachet* (Paris, 1926), *passim*; and the same, *The Old Regime in France* (New York, 1929), pp. 201-32: "Lettres de cachet"; cf. Crane Brinton's review of this work, *American Historical Review*, XXXV (1929-30), 595-96.

²Augustin Gazier, *Histoire générale du mouvement janséniste* (2 vols.; Paris, 1922), II, 2.

³Bibliothèque nationale, Archives administratives, vol. 56 ("Bibliothèque royale: Prêts, 1719-1789"), f. 33. At the top of the folio is the following minute, presumably by Bignon: "J'ay repondu de vive voix sur cette lettre que ce qui se trouveroit de doubles seroit vendu ou troqué pour de nouvelles acquisitions, et M. le Cardinal a fait approuver cette idée. A Fontainebleau le 14 juillet 1731."

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

WHY DICTATORS? THE CAUSES AND FORMS OF TYRANNICAL RULE SINCE 600 B.C. By *George W. F. Hallgarten*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xiii, 379. \$5.50.)

IN this suggestive study, Mr. Hallgarten takes his lead from Weber, who, he says, sought "to make the laws of sociology fit historical realities, and not vice versa." Dictatorship he finds to be a most complex social phenomenon, certainly not dependent solely on economic conditions, but still susceptible of rough classification according to certain observed norms. There are in Mr. Hallgarten's scheme four basic forms of dictatorship: the "classical," the "counter-revolutionary," the "pseudo-revolutionary," and the "ultra-revolutionary." The classical form is of long standing, and is associated with the successful fight of new monied men against an old landed nobility. From Pisistratus to Bonaparte it was the commonest form of dictatorship. The counter-revolutionary form is the frank alliance of the dictator with the old established aristocracy, a form well represented in Sulla and in many Latin-American dictatorships. The pseudo-revolutionary form, closely related to the counter-revolutionary, is a characteristic of our own times; a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Perón, though he really buttresses an old established ruling and possessing class, must pretend to improve the lot of the repressed many. The ultra-revolutionary dictator is again a modern type. He is the man who really does take the side of the underdog, but is forced by pressure of class war to repressive rule, which in the end represses the underdog as well as the former upperdog. Robespierre and Lenin were ultra-revolutionary dictators.

Mr. Hallgarten, after this preliminary analysis, takes up each of his forms in more detail, using a method which mixes but does not quite confuse historical chronology and sociological analysis. He concludes with a general survey of dictatorships in the contemporary world, where he finds representatives of all his types. An epilogue urges Americans to redouble their efforts to activate democracy inside and outside our borders, for we are the hope of the world against dictatorship.

Historians who distrust the "comparative method," let alone sociological forays into the past, will hardly accept Mr. Hallgarten's book. He ranges in time and space over several dozen conventional academic historical fields. It is a simple fact of life that he must make more mistakes, both of fact and of judgment, in each field than would a well-trained specialist in that field. On a less rigorous standard of criticism, it may be said that Mr. Hallgarten's standards of scholarship are fully up to the level of good contemporary writing on history as a guide to life.

Mr. Hallgarten's sympathies are on the side of the many, the Left, the democ-

racies. He does not find the "ultra-revolutionaries" quite as objectionable as the "pseudo-revolutionaries." Indeed, the very use of "pseudo," a term that must always arouse semantic suspicion, is a way of condemning in advance. His basic conceptual scheme, despite his disavowal of the simplicities of economic interpretation, is of course essentially Marxist. The classes his dictators manipulate or serve are classes formed by their place in a structure for the production and distribution of wealth. His tone is therefore, like that of most writers who feel that "reality" is at bottom hard and tangible, somewhat superior toward those who share the illusions of idealism and common sense. He sounds occasionally like Mosca and Pareto, or even like Mr. J. P. Burnham; but his heart, clearly, is gentler than his head.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

ESSAI SUR LA CIVILISATION D'OCCIDENT: L'HOMME. By *Charles Morazé*, Directeur d'études à l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, Professeur à l'Institut d'études politiques. [Collection Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1950. Pp. ix, 254. 480 fr.)

THIS essay in the interpretation of history is on the grand scale. It seeks to show, on the one hand, a repetitive, rise-and-fall process of evolution of civilization and, on the other, a linear process, the two processes combined within a twofold causality, one order of cause operating upward from the physical environment, the other downward from the realm of human thought. On its repetitive side the argument is comparable with those of Danilevski, of Henry and Brooks Adams, of Spengler, Toynbee, Sorokin, and Kroeber. The idea of adding a linear process to the repetitive process is novel (as far as I know), and the book deserves serious attention for this, if not for the version of the linear process given. It is remarkable also for the number and variety of the issues brought into the synthesis. This latter and the resulting complexity of the argument make it impossible even to summarize the book here. I offer observations, therefore, only on a few salient points.

The conception of physiographic—rather, cosmogonic—causation (with acknowledgment to Lucien Febvre) is, on the whole, good. It may serve to counteract the tendency of the anthropologists to neglect the environmental factor in developing their concept, culture. Conversely, Morazé's conception of intellectual cause makes insufficient use of the anthropologists' work; it gets only as far as Dürkheim.

As a result of this last, there is, I think, radical error in the view taken of the mode of inheritance of Greco-Roman civilization by Europe and corresponding error in the significance given the spread of European civilization to other continents today. It is also manifestly untrue that civilization before the rise of Europe shuttled back and forth, eastward and westward, south of the Alpine-Himalayan fold in the Old World land mass. The demographic factor proposed in the repetitive, rise-and-fall process seems to me improbable; it is reminiscent of

Seeck, Nilsson and company without being eugenist: the resulting position I take to be either logically or historically untenable.

Broad interpretation of history is the necessary counterpart of fact-finding research. Since that kind of interpretation is but feebly recovering after a century of neglect, M. Morazé's book must be welcomed. Yet I must confess that I find more speculation in it than is today either useful or unavoidable in such a work; it might even turn out to contain as much actual error as Spengler's work did. It is almost as much fraught with emotion as Spengler's work, and that is a bad thing. It may be a good thing that the book shows quite an extraordinarily large number of influences. It is very Baudelairian; Gide is present, and so are Bergson and Henri Poincaré; there are many echoes of the mood of the existentialists.

Atlanta University

RUSHTON COULBORN

LES XVI^e ET XVII^e SIÈCLES: LE PROGRÈS DE LA CIVILISATION EUROPÉENNE ET LE DÉCLIN DE L'ORIENT (1492-1715). By *Roland Mousnier*. [Histoire générale des civilisations, tome IV.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1954. Pp. 605.)

THIS is Volume IV of the new general history of civilization published under the direction of Maurice Crouzet, inspector general of public instruction. The three volumes that have appeared to date have been uniformly good (A. Aymard and J. Auboyer, *L'Orient et la Grèce Antique*; R. Mousnier and E. LaBrousse, *Le XVIII^e siècle (1715-1815)*, and the present volume). They seem to be too extensive and too literary to be intended for classroom use, but they undoubtedly will assume an important place in the training of advanced students as well as in the esteem of the general literate reading public. American scholars, too, cannot afford to neglect the series.

The volume at hand is divided roughly into three large sections, approximately equal in length. The first (1492-1598) is generally handled under the theme "renaissance." The second (1598-1715) is treated as a period of "crisis." The third section deals with the non-European world.

The general thesis presented under the conception "renaissance" is that the latter fifteenth and the sixteenth century saw a prodigious expansion of human activity that carried individual men far beyond the medieval background of Europe. This creative force manifested itself in every aspect of human life from politics to art. The only really disappointing part in the section is the one dealing with the religious revolt. Perhaps the Reformation movement cannot be fitted into such a pattern; perhaps Professor Mousnier's own attitude toward the religious problem accounts for this incomplete and unsympathetic treatment. His analysis of sixteenth-century politics is very good, and the discussion of the economic and cultural evolution of the period well done. Professor Mousnier obviously does not fit the stereotype of the French scholar who knows nothing of the world beyond France's frontiers,

The section on the seventeenth century in general develops the thesis that there emerged in every phase of men's lives new ideas and patterns of action that were in conflict with the traditional culture of Europe. The baroque artists who rejected rules, the Jansenists as well as the theocentric Bérullian Catholic reformers who wished to purify ideas about God and salvation, the *libertin* philosophers who rejected Christianity, the scientists who discovered the heliocentric universe, the great magnates and princes who refused to accept the authority of kings—these and others were creating diversity, irregularity, and disorder that demanded new responses from men. The tentatives to adjust to these new patterns (Cartesianism, absolutism, mercantilism, classicism in art, etc.) proved to be inadequate responses. Thus at the end of the period the moral, political, intellectual, and economic crises were assuming critical proportions. This section is very ably written; the ideas are not new, but the presentation includes the results of the most recent research; it is also lively, vigorous, and, unlike many general studies, it rarely soars beyond factual evidence.

In some ways the last section is the most suggestive. The part dealing with the New World is adequate; the emphasis upon the fact that there were Indian societies in both North and South America may be a springboard for a more catholic understanding of the problems of the New World. The short section on black African societies is extremely informative; one often forgets that Negro Africa also has a history. The section analyzing Islam approaches brilliance. Neither the reviewer nor Professor Mousnier would claim originality for the idea that the world conflict of these centuries was between Islam and Christendom, and that the West made great efforts to turn Islam's flank. This thesis, however, is presented with a calm objectivity that should be instructive to the drumbeaters of our era, were they able to read and understand it. Professor Mousnier has come closer than any general historian known to this reviewer to making sense out of the problem of world history in these centuries.

Like the other two volumes of the series that have appeared, this book is artistically printed and the illustrations are beautifully reproduced. One wishes that the American market (some four times the size of the French!) were such that our publishers of sober histories could produce books like this one.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

LÉONARD DE VINCI ET L'EXPÉRIENCE SCIENTIFIQUE AU XVI^e SIÈCLE. [Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 4-7 juillet 1952. Sciences humaines.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1953. Pp. viii, 273. 1500 fr.)

IN his brilliant summary of the sixteen papers of this symposium, Alexandre Koyré points out that, at least tacitly, they all revolve about the validity of the thesis propounded in 1906 by Pierre Duhem's *Etudes sur Léonard de Vinci, ceux qu'il a lus et ceux qui l'ont lu* that Leonardo was both the culmination of the

scientific lore of the Parisian and Pavian nominalists and influential on his successors. Heresy in its youth, Duhem's view is now orthodoxy and is here ably sustained, particularly by André Chastel. But the contrary position seems victorious, despite Koyré's effort to synthesize the opposing views. George de Santillana's paper "Ceux qu'il n'a pas lus" shows that Leonardo's Latin was got after forty and that he could perhaps never read it without assistance. Moreover his Italian remained that of a Tuscan peasant. Lucien Febvre insists, and several contributors sustain him, that in Leonardo's time listening was at least as important as reading. In Florence and Milan, Rome and Paris, ideas of every sort were buzzing. In the relatively few instances where Leonardo notes a source, it often appears to be hearsay rather than written. He read little, and for practical purposes was forgotten as engineer and scientist until the late eighteenth century.

Then is Leonardo (save as a painter) so isolated from the stream of history—a Robinson Crusoe among geniuses—that the review of a book about him is an intrusion upon this journal? Yes, if, as many historians seem to believe, history is the study of the human past solely in terms of written documents and continuities between them. But much of life never got into writing, yet to some extent it can be recovered in a variety of ways. George Sarton rightly asserts that all Leonardo's ideas had medieval roots but that "la tradition qu'il a recueillie ne fut pas une tradition littéraire mais plutôt une tradition orale et manuelle." It is academic snobbism to try to make a professor out of Leonardo, and he would not approve: he was suspicious of the abstractions of the faculties. He is historically significant less as a force than as a symptom of the originality and innovative drive of the voiceless world of late medieval craftsmen, *uomini senza lettere* even more than he, out of whose strivings, far more than from the books of scholars, emerged modern technology and experimental science.

Mills College

LYNN WHITE, JR.

THE HISTORY AND CHARACTER OF CALVINISM. By John T. McNeill.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 466. \$6.00.)

As Professor McNeill points out, all modern history would be "unrecognizably different" without Calvin (p. 234). He has therefore done a great service in presenting in one volume not only an account of the life and teaching of Calvin but a survey of Calvinism down to our own day.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I deals with Zwingli and the Reformation in German Switzerland, because this movement, and the one led by Calvin, "formed one communion and passed on to later generations a common heritage" (p. viii).

Part II is devoted to the life and work of Calvin, and, as Professor McNeill says, amounts to a monograph on the subject. It will be welcomed as one of the best short accounts of Calvin available, based on a thorough knowledge both of his life and writings and of modern scholarship. To Professor McNeill, Calvin

appears as a more amiable and human figure than he has to some other writers. His faults, however, are not overlooked: for example, his violent temper and his inclination toward harsh judgments and abusive language in controversy (see p. 228). As for the burning of Servetus, "when all is understood, admirers of Calvin must still look upon it with shame" (p. 177).

Part III is a highly compressed account of the spread of Calvinism in Europe and early America. Sometimes the compression, although inevitable, may seem excessive, as in the attempt to cover the French wars of religion in a little less than three full pages (pp. 247-49). Although Francis II and Henry III are mentioned, Charles IX is not, even in connection with the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. This omission may distort somewhat the question of the causes and responsibility for the massacre. On the other hand, there are excellent short discussions of important subjects, for example the controversies in the Netherlands associated with the name of Arminius (pp. 263-66).

The last section of the book deals with Calvinism and modern issues. Many important topics are touched on and illuminated, and one wishes that there might have been more space for them: for example, the relationship of Calvinism and government, the impact of scientific thought and Biblical criticism on religion, recent currents in theology, and the familiar question of Calvinism and capitalism. Professor McNeill shows that this last subject has been seriously misunderstood as a result of shallow and uninformed thinking.

Throughout the whole book runs the theme of Christian unity, a long-standing interest of Professor McNeill. He shows it to have been a vital element in Calvin's thought, and traces with special care movements in that direction among modern Calvinistic churches.

He writes eloquently of the value of Calvinism in society (see especially his concluding pages), and welcomes the current revival of Calvinism. This revival, he says, "does not require a restoration of the entire system," but the spirit of Calvinism needs to be revived—a spirit which he defines as "faithful response to the Scripture revelation of a sovereign and redeeming God" (p. 433).

Professor McNeill might have done one more service for the general reader to whom this book is directed. He frequently refers to modern scholars who have contributed to some aspect of his subject, but he does not always, in the text or in his bibliography, give the names of their works. This may prove a source of frustration to readers who have been stimulated by the book to undertake further study.

Not only the general reader but scholars as well will find this book useful. Not many men possess the learning and devotion which have enabled Professor McNeill to carry out his formidable task so successfully; and the value of the book is enhanced by the fact that it is clearly a labor of love.

University of Kansas

WILLIAM GILBERT

THE CONQUEST OF PLAGUE: A STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF EPIDEMIOLOGY. By *L. Fabian Hirst*. With a Foreword by Lieut.-General Sir *William Macarthur*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 478. \$11.00.)

SCHOLARLY in its breadth and coverage, authentic in its detail, this is a volume that will appeal to historian and scientist alike. The author, who writes from a background of over forty years of experience in the study of plague, has attempted to portray the evolution of man's concept of infection as exemplified by his theories about the epidemiology of this one disease. This volume portrays the steps of transition from the deistic theories of the Middle Ages through the miasmatic to the contagionistic concept that today rests on sound bacteriologic foundation. The book is thus a history of an important scientific controversy that raged over many centuries and drew into its orbit the thinking of many of the best minds of past and present years.

In presenting his story, Dr. Hirst has drawn heavily on well-known historical sources which he has examined with the care of the critical scholar. His statements and analyses are well documented, and his selection of illustrations and quotations well made. The style is clear and the vocabulary within the range of the non-technical reader.

The book is divided into four sections. The first, dealing with the "Traditional Conceptions of the Nature of Plague," is of special interest to the historian. The last three parts—"Modern Conceptions of the Nature of Plague," "The Spread of Plague in Time and Space," and "The Conquest of Plague"—are more technical in nature. While of special concern to the medical historian and the student of epidemiology, these three sections are likewise of great general interest as the approach is historical throughout and the author has stressed the relationships to the economic and social developments of the era.

Although the author disclaims having written a true history of plague, he has none the less made a major contribution to the literature of this subject. This is truly a volume that will stand the test of time and remain for many years a standard reference in its field.

University of Minnesota

GAYLORD W. ANDERSON, M.D.

HISTORY OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS. By *Joseph A. Schumpeter*. Edited from the manuscript by *Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xxv, 1260. \$17.50.)

SCHUMPETER devoted the last ten years of his life to a comprehensive study of the successive manifestations of analytical technique as applied to economics. He did not live to complete the work and it owes its present form to the devoted and skillful editing of Mrs. Schumpeter, aided by some of Schumpeter's students, notably Arthur Marget.

This great work is too monumental to be disposed of in a limited review, but, as cats may look at kings, it may be proper to examine it casually somewhat as Schumpeter did his subjects, less with regard to its general virtue than with regard to its virtues as history.

Schumpeter defined his problem, at least negatively, in a very narrow sense. He excluded what he calls "political economy," "economic sociology," and even "applied economics" except insofar as the problem in a given field may raise questions of analysis as such. He drew a careful distinction between his aim and the history of economic thought. This position itself requires a good bit of analysis, with the result that much of the book here and there is devoted to orienting the reader to his specific purpose. The exclusive concern with analysis produces surprising ratings, Ricardo and Keynes, for example, below Jevons, Marx, and Walras, because they assumed certain constants and confined their efforts to only a limited number of variables.

The emphatic concentration on the qualitative, virtuoso aspects of the analytical processes of successive individuals as against the social origins, setting, and consequences of doctrines and systems seems in a way to remove the work from the area of history. It is impossible to attribute to the author of *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* a deficiency of historical sense. Not only did he aver that if he were at the beginning of his career he would choose history as a means of studying economics and assign "most of the fundamental errors currently committed in economic analysis . . . to lack of historical experience," but throughout the work his allusions and setting of his materials reflect as wide and profound acquaintance with and sense of history as can be found in a long day's journey among the books. On the other hand, although he spared no words in high-grade analysis of his fundamental documents (books and articles) and always gave interesting biographical indications of the development of his subjects' thinking, he did not undertake to verbalize with any extension his own high consciousness of the place of this or that movement in economic thought as a part of the whole intellectual or social history of its time. He rejected for himself the charge of "scientism" (with rather aspecial meaning) but, aside from a projected but unwritten subsection on "The Motive Forces of Scientific Endeavor and the Mechanisms of Scientific Development," did not make any place for the actuality of economics as a phase of that whole. The unwritten chapter would, we can be sure, have been a magnificent bit of analysis, but we can be sure that it would not have been history. Great analyst as he was, his communication is at the opposite pole from Maitland's "History is a seamless web." Indeed, in the intense abstraction Schumpeter made of it, the historian is tempted to question whether analysis as such has a history, any more than, say, the propensity to consume. The last paragraph on page 899 illustrates Schumpeter's indisposition (I will not call it failure) to think in "phase."

Fortunately, Schumpeter's dynamic explorations carried him far beyond the

limited concern which he avows. The book remains a superb series of analyses of the analyzers, but it becomes a rationally organized biographical dictionary of the economists. One of the most appealing parts of it is what Schumpeter called "the reader's guide" to Adam Smith. Regrettably, he balked at a corresponding service for Karl Marx, but in general the historian will find "reader's guides" of the very highest value throughout the book. The question of priorities often emerges in a rather jejune way, but this has the merit of bringing up to general attention individuals whom the conventional pattern has left in limbo. Often, however, Schumpeter's own expression about John Law seems applicable: "The case seems to be one of those in which it is right to link 'priority' with fullness and depth of comprehension."

The total experience of reading the book has confirmed this reviewer in his dictum of 1933 that economics is more like medieval scholasticism than anything else, including modern scholasticism, in the present.

University of Wyoming

F. L. NUSSBAUM

CAPITALISM AND THE HISTORIANS. Edited with an Introduction by F. A. Hayek. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 188. \$3.00.)

THE historical beliefs which shape our attitudes toward political questions do not always accord with the facts of history. Emboldened by this truism, F. A. Hayek and associates (T. S. Ashton, Louis Hacker, W. H. Hutt, and B. de Jouvenal) profess to see a "Gresham's law of history" whereby the false account forces out the true. The counterfeiter is identified as "intellectuals"—more particularly, as professional writers of history. The bogus currency they are alleged to have circulated is the doctrine that the Industrial Revolution was harmful to our society: that it resulted in the gutting of natural resources, exploitation of helpless workers, the growth of predatory monopolies, imperialism. Despite the evidence of November, 1952, that all was not corrupted by such forgery, these writers have taken it on themselves to make unalloyed "Manchesterism" the only intellectual legal tender in the realm.

There can be no quarrel with the contention that the Industrial Revolution raised material standards for the majority. The authors complain justifiably of much that lingers in political folklore about "the horrors" of early capitalism—that "one supreme myth which more than any other has served to discredit the economic system to which we owe our present day civilization." T. S. Ashton demonstrates the emptiness of the legend that working-class conditions deteriorated. W. H. Hutt shows how demagogic politicians filled reports of select committees with *ex parte* statements and unsworn evidences of factory conditions which were later used uncritically by some historians. There were instances of the iniquities cited by mythologists, but the demonology of the Left omits so much that is vital in the story of capitalism and distorts the motives of so many who participated in its growth, that it proves a wholly unreliable guide to the study of economic change.

If the authors were content to apply this needed corrective to myopic views of the Left, we would welcome their book as a useful, if belated, guide to things known and taught for a generation in professional schools of economic history. But this is only half their purpose. The other half implies that society has been led astray—down the road to serfdom—by the ideological malice of a “secular intelligentsia” who were a crew of open or cryptic socialists. Though controversy is the spice of intellectual life, this particular condiment may poison it. Hutt’s article, resurrected from a predepression journal, argues that leftist legislation impoverished society by frustrating “more natural and desirable remedies.” De Jouvenal insists that intellectuals conspired to destroy society—because they disapproved of profit-making. Yet no one explains why the demonology of the Right is now preferable to that of the Left; or how historians are saved when they color their phobias red instead of black.

Surely there is more to the craft of history than can be contained in a formula “pro- or anticapitalist.” Not all critics of capitalism were Marxists, *Kathedersozialisten*, or “institutionalists.” Many were Christian reformers or agrarian radicals; some were naïve romanticists; some—this is especially true of the Hammonds who incur the authors’ censure—criticized capitalist society on grounds other than economic. Thus the Hammonds contrasted early factory towns with classic city-states and found that the new urban-industrial society did not meet the needs of a largely rural population “wrestling with the most difficult of all spiritual adjustments . . . disturbed by changes that had destroyed the basis of custom in their lives.”

One need not accept this position uncritically. But the notion that social ferment arises from things other than real wages should be recognized by economists who teach history. Efficiency-economics is often fundamental but it is not the only test of historical truth or scholarly integrity. Dean Hacker properly regrets that a simple Jefferson-Jackson mythology underestimates Federalist-Whig efforts to secure a sound credit policy for the new nation; but why discount political and humanitarian objections to other aspects of Hamiltonian philosophy? In Beard’s case, for example, many other emphases should be balanced against strictures on the economic system. However, this book does not call for balanced judgment but unqualified affirmation of its viewpoint. To such economic determinisms of the Right, many historians will rejoin, “Man does not live by bread alone.”

University of Pennsylvania

ERIC E. LAMPARD

THE “ISMS”: A HISTORY AND EVALUATION. By *Eugene O. Golob*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xii, 681. \$6.00.)

THIS book is essentially a comparative study of contemporary social philosophies or ideologies rather than a history of the whole gamut of “isms,” as the title would suggest. The author does not, for example, include romanticism,

cultural and political nationalism and liberalism, republicanism or monarchism, except incidentally.

Although the author in an admirable preface "professes the belief that no institution or idea can be abstracted from its past and still be properly understood," he is forced to compromise considerably by his ambitious aim of clarifying the whole range of contending social ideologies as a guide to practical thinking and action. Thus the chapter on British Labour devotes three quarters of its space to an analysis of the post-World War II experiment in socialization.

Nevertheless the book can be of value in courses on contemporary history, since he does indicate the nineteenth-century roots of twentieth-century problems. Moreover his very emphasis on analysis and criticism of the actual operation of these ideologies is basically empirical and historical rather than theoretical, though he devotes little attention to the genesis of these ideologies from concrete historical situations and needs.

His topical approach can lead to historical oversimplification and distortion, such as the separation of "The Ideology of Capitalism" in Part I from "The Mercantilist Tradition" in Part II, which tends to falsify the historical interaction of mercantilism and laissez-faire under capitalism. Even in England, the home of "classical capitalism," the era of laissez-faire saw the rise of trade unions and the passing of factory laws. In general this section on capitalism is rather perfunctory and least successful in synthesizing history and economics.

It is interesting in this connection to notice Mr. Golob's own analysis of the pitfalls of historical synthesis in the foreword to his earlier book on *The Méline Tariff: French Agriculture and Nationalist Economic Policy* (1944) and his decision that "the writing of synthetic histories of limited, particular subjects" is a step toward the slow and difficult development of "true synthetic history, societal in scope and analytical in character." The soundest and most valuable parts of this present book are those built on his specialized knowledge, such as the chapters on neo-mercantilism, in which he includes the New Deal and Keynesianism, and the chapters on corporatism and present-day socialism.

A third of the book is devoted to the rather rambling but useful chapter on "Socialism by Revolution: Soviet Russia." The emphasis here as always is on economic analysis but not on the economic interpretation of history. To a much greater extent than in other chapters he brings in cultural, political, and international policies. This chapter reveals best both his aim of synthesis and his approach to "objectivity" in history. Objectivity, he points out, does not mean avoidance or suppression of judgment—it means "a decent respect for the facts and a readiness to fit interpretations to them. And a work should be judged, not by the position and attitudes of its author, but by the accuracy of his information, his judiciousness in selection and the consistency of his judgments with that information." He believes in stating his position, which is a reasoned rejection of the methods of revolution, in order to give the reader the chance to form his own.

The book will perhaps be most valuable for the layman who might be frightened off by the apparatus of scholarship. It makes no pretensions to originality and indeed derives its source quotations almost entirely from a few secondary accounts, often citing them without identification or date. But it is readable, intelligent, and often lively. The cool analysis of the two main interpretations of the Nazi-Soviet pact and subsequent Soviet foreign policy will dispel a good deal of the confusion, intentional and unintentional, that surrounds the discussion of these controversial subjects.

His concluding chapters, written for the future, are less historical than civic, i.e., "What Is To Be Done?" His answer is "the middle way" of reform which avoids the dangerous rigidity of ideology and employs flexibly the methods of Keynesian neo-mercantilism and of political democracy to achieve the values of Judeo-Christian ethics, in accordance with changing historical conditions. Keynes, Schumpeter, and Reinhold Niebuhr would seem to be his three Muses, though not his three Fates.

Vassar College

EVALYN A. CLARK

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1936. In five volumes. Volume I, GENERAL; THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. [Department of State Publication 5395.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. lxxvi, 892. \$4.25.) Volume III, THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publication 5339.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. lxi, 542. \$3.00.)

ENGERT, United States Minister Resident in Ethiopia, wrote from Addis Ababa on the eve of the Italian occupation of the city: "We—including the United States—must all prepare to face the issue: so long as ruthless nations in the Far East or in Europe can bank on the pusillanimity of the law-abiding nations it is futile to expect the dawn of a new era in international relations" (III,70). With equal clear-sightedness the minister in Austria, Messersmith, commented upon Hitler's march into the Rhineland on March 7, and explained that "the fears which dominate Europe prevent action." He added: "It is this fear which Europe has of war which National Socialism has been, is and will continue to capitalize" (I,222). Something else which Hitler capitalized had already been mentioned by Ambassador Dodd in Berlin on February 12: "There is real joy at the United States absolute neutrality" (I,196).

These quotations have been picked out, not because they are representative of all reporting in these two volumes, although the perceptiveness of the foreign service is admirably high, but because they provide keys to the understanding of much that was happening in 1936, and offer food for thought in 1954. Besides the Rhineland crisis and its aftermath (under "European Political Developments," Volume I) and the Ethiopian-Italian conflict (Volume III), other matters which are related to the breakdown of the League system and of collective security are

the futile discussions over reviving the disarmament conference, the concluding phase of the London Naval Conference, various aspects of international economic co-operation, sidelights on the Montreux Straits Conference and upon French negotiations with Syria and Lebanon and British with Egypt.

Aside from the many United States interests in such things as the suppression of liquor smuggling, intergovernmental and foreign war debts, and the perennial St. Lawrence waterway, these documents indicate that the major positive action undertaken by the United States in order to better international relations was Secretary Hull's effort to secure British co-operation in his international trade program (I, 629-706). The philosophy behind these efforts is, again, food for thought in 1954, for Hull, after drawing a picture of worsening conditions in international affairs and admitting that direct political action seemed very difficult, believed "that the peoples of different countries may be brought to support their governments in any revision of their international trade relations which promises to improve the chances of maintaining peace by increasing trade; on the other hand, the absence of any effort to achieve this result will mark the decay of the determination to master events rather than be mastered by them" (I, 682). With the advantage of hindsight and against the background of scores of documents in these volumes, recourse to such a palliative seems pitifully inadequate. Since the events to be mastered in 1936 basically involved military power, it is little wonder that the British government, directly concerned with these events in Europe and Africa, failed to respond vigorously to Hull's pleas.

Surprises are few in these two well-edited volumes, and yet, taken as a whole, they document a reinterpretation of the critical year in at least one respect. It was not blindness concerning the ultimate significance of German and Italian policy that accounts for the failure to maintain or rebuild collective security, but it was the policies adopted by the "law-abiding" nations to meet the recognized dangers. Intelligence was remarkably high; judgment and will extremely low.

Clark University

DWIGHT E. LEE

THE CENTURY OF TOTAL WAR. By *Raymond Aron*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1954. Pp. 379. \$5.00.)

THIS book is not exactly a "history" or a "study." It may be described as a series of reflections on present problems, chiefly on those dealing with international affairs, by a man who is both a philosopher of history and a writer for Paris journals. As a result of this combination M. Aron brings to his discussion of public problems a rare capacity for keen analysis, incisive argument, and felicitous phrasing. The book under review gives full evidence of the author's abilities, and at the same time reveals his understanding of the nature of the historical forces that came to a climax in *The Century of Total War*.

What is Aron's point of view? The present reviewer detects a faint nostalgia

for nineteenth-century liberalism, with its belief in gradual progress, its tolerance, and its pacific inclinations. World wars and world revolutions are not the patterns of progress for this French intellectual.

The author's main thesis rests on the belief that the First World War unleashed destructive forces that have spread throughout the world, revolutionizing human relations in almost every respect. Consequently any new war, involving major powers, will be a total war in which destruction will be of unimaginable dimensions. His chief concern is with western Europe, whose "very foundations" were swept away by the Second World War, and whose democratic way of life is now menaced by the "dynamism of violence" of Soviet Russia. In this connection Aron raises the question "whether the restored democracies are fit to perform the task which history imposes on continental Europe." His answer is that, because of the weakness and division in Europe, "there are no defenders on the ramparts."

Only America, in the view of the author, can make European democracy safe from communism. He severely castigates neutralism, so widespread in France, where many intellectuals are partisans of the "double refusal" in their belief that there is no choice between the two evils, Russia and America. America, he insists, has the power and the will to play the chief role in protecting Europe's libertarian heritage. Aron makes the striking observation that western Europe now occupies a strategic position comparable to that of Belgium in 1914 and 1939. And America is the power that is maintaining intercontinental equilibrium as England had maintained the balance of power in Europe. To preserve the new balance of power America has had "to efface the consequence of too complete a victory" over Germany and Japan by giving generous aid to these former enemies in order to keep them in the Western camp. He is almost convinced that Russia is preparing for a third world war, largely because communists have modified Marxism to the extent of substituting "wars for crises in the dialectic of history."

What about Germany, the vital core in the present situation? A disarmed neutral Germany now would make no sense whatever; it would become, not a buffer, but a void inviting intervention both by Russia and the West. Does Aron, therefore, favor the European Defense Community? In the chapter "Can Europe Unite?" he begins by stating that France has "no alternative but to support European unity." As he proceeds he is assailed by doubts, fears, and hesitations, and ends on a note of indecision. The idea of European unity, with a rearmed Germany, is "too revolutionary," a creation of intellectuals, hence "its genuine appeal to the mind and its feeble echo in the heart."

Among the many recent books dealing with the world situation Aron's work is outstanding. It is a book that will prove valuable both to the specialist and to the informed general reader.

New York, N.Y.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

IRAQ, 1900 TO 1950: A POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Stephen Hemsley Longrigg*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 436. \$6.15.)

THIS is a supremely excellent British history of Iraq for 1900 to 1950. It is a full account of the events of the half-century, with a complete record of the personalities producing the events. It also describes the policies and principles that determined Iraq's recent history. Here a careful, experienced, honest historian, who participated in the story, writes as one who sought Iraq's and Britain's welfare. An Iraqi historian could interpret many of the events differently, and might add information, but, as history, his report would do well to be as good as this book.

Mr. Longrigg's *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (1925) prepared him for writing this book. His years as a government official gave him knowledge of, and access to, important sources. He uses, but does not quote, these sources. Literary skill and understanding of historical values enabled him to turn official documentary information into reliable historical literature.

Having expressed appreciation of the high quality and value of this work, the reviewer hopes that a few corrections will not be taken amiss. The "candidature and election" of the Amir Fayṣal of Mecca (p. 131) to the kingship of Iraq "could scarcely . . . be allowed to fail." He was offered as the only candidate. Lists were presented to selected people for their signatures. It was announced that he was elected.

An active candidate, Sayid Ṭalib bin Sayid Rajab, Naqib of Baṣrah, characterized as a "cynically unscrupulous character" was "removed from the scene. He was arrested by the military authorities and deported" (p. 132). There are wide differences in statements about the manner of his arrest. Sayid Ṭalib himself told me he was having tea as a guest in a British official's home in Baṣrah when he was arrested. He showed me how his hostess turned her head and held her handkerchief before her face rather than see such a breach of the laws of hospitality. Another statement is that Sayid Ṭalib was arrested after he left the house.

On page 219 it is said that the 'Ajman "attacked a motor convoy in which Americans were travelling, killing one of its passengers, Dr. Bilkert, a missionary." Mr. Charles R. Crane and the Rev. Henry A. Bilkert were traveling from Baṣrah to Kuwait. The 'Ajman attacked, not the car, but some Iraqi Badu attending their flocks in Kuwait territory. It was entirely fortuitous that the car happened to be between the raiders and the raided when a raider's shot hit Mr. Bilkert. The Arabs had no intention of attacking any Americans and the author did not intend that anyone should draw such an inference. So far as this reviewer knows, never has any party of Arabs attacked any Americans. When the Rev. Roger Cunningham was murdered (p. 270), it was indeed "an

isolated crime" committed by a Kurd in retaliation, because he believed a brother's change of religious adherence was tantamount to the abandonment of Kurdish nationality.

Along with the spirit of nationalism the weightiest objection to the British management of 'Iraq during the mandate period was that 'Iraq, then poor, had to bear the triple burden of royalty, supervisors, and government officials.

Hartford, Connecticut

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Ancient and Medieval History

THE RULING POWER: A STUDY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE SECOND CENTURY AFTER CHRIST THROUGH THE ROMAN ORATION OF AELIUS ARISTIDES. By *James H. Oliver*, Professor of Classics, the Johns Hopkins University. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XLIII, Part 4, 1953.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1953. Pp. 871-1003. \$2.00.)

PROFESSOR Oliver treats the *Roman Oration* of Aristides from an unrivaled familiarity with the Greek world under Roman rule. A brief review can scarcely do justice to the richness of his study; a richness far beyond what its 133 pages suggest, both because of the scholarship and because the large quarto pages of the *Transactions*, printed in double columns, afford much more text than the ordinary book of similar length would contain.

Professor Oliver, in his two opening sections, traces back to Plato the literary tradition of praising real or ideal states from which this oration resulted. Because of its literary character, the speech gives more evidence for the Greek attitude toward Roman rule than for actual conditions. After this introduction comes the translation and a detailed commentary on matters of text, translation, and content. Professor Oliver's feeling for imperial Greek enables him to emend conservatively and convincingly the often corrupt text. His wide knowledge of the Greek world illuminates the general statements of Aristides. In his fifth section, Professor Oliver illustrates from actual cases the denunciation by Plutarch in his *Political Precepts* of the control over the Greek cities exercised by the very rich. In two further sections, he studies aspects of the general problem of whether Rome established a common law for all Greek states. He edits and discusses in this light the inscription which preserves Hadrian's revision of an Athenian law regulating the tithing and export of olive oil. He then edits and comments on several inscriptions and one literary passage which deal with guarantees given by the Roman government against the misuse of local endowments by municipal officials. He concludes that Rome's achievement of a universal law was not a conscious mission but the slow result of legislation for immediate situations.

Generalization resulted in part from the natural tendency to base such specific enactments on precedents and even more from the work of jurists familiar with Greek philosophical and legal thought.

There follow a full bibliography and, because of the exigencies of printing, the critical Greek text already discussed in the commentary. There are indexes of the Greek words in the text and of passages interpreted and a few addenda but, unfortunately, no general index to the rich content of the whole study. All students of the Roman Empire and of its impact on the Greek world will find this a rewarding and stimulating book. The American Philosophical Society merits high praise for devoting the bulk of the forty-third volume of its *Transactions* to two distinguished classical studies: Professor Berger's *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Part 2, pp. 333-808) and this authoritative interpretation of Aristides' praise of Rome as *The Ruling Power*.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

THE MIND OF THE MIDDLE AGES, A.D. 200-1500: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY. By *Frederick B. Artz*, Oberlin College. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1953. Pp. xiv, 552, viii. Trade \$7.50, text \$5.75.)

THE first edition (1953) of this valuable book was so well received that already a revision constituting a second edition is appearing in 1954, correcting the few typographical errors, mellowing judgments, and adding new material to strengthen the original treatment especially on the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas.

The "mind" of the Middle Ages, taken literally, would be a very complex and fluid subject, most difficult for any modern scholar to analyze and virtually impossible for him to understand. This book hardly tries to go deeper than the published writings of the intellectual classes and is essentially a catalogue of their interests throughout the long fluctuations from the days of Judaism to those of Humanism. Special emphasis is placed upon literature, art, music, and philosophy.

The book consists of two parts, about equally divided: "The Dominance of the East," tracing classical, Jewish, and Christian backgrounds of the West to 1000 A.D.; depicting also the brilliant civilizations of Byzantium and Islam, making them, as is now customary, appear more attractive than the early medieval centuries in the Latin West. Since the future belonged to the West, however, the second half of the book enlarges upon "The Revival of the West (1000-1500 A.D.)."

Professor Artz's book stands, as to style and method, about half-way between Thompson's *History of Historical Writing*, which briefly and sometimes disjointedly lists and analyzes writer after writer, and H. O. Taylor's classic, *The Mediaeval Mind*, which probes intellectual currents and richly portrays various medieval types. In his notes Professor Artz pays tribute to Taylor's study as "still the best single book on intellectual history of the Middle Ages." The title of Professor Artz's book is unfortunately a misnomer because it indicates that

it covers the same ground as Taylor, whereas it is a valuable synthesis of medieval intellectual and cultural activities in its own right and along different lines. Taylor did nothing with Byzantine or Islamic culture, very little with art and music, and rose to the high point of Dante as "the mediaeval synthesis." Professor Artz writes over a much wider field and goes beyond the final medieval act of Dante to the humanists of the fifteenth century.

The question often arises throughout the book as to what audience it is intended for. In some portions there is hardly enough historical continuity for the amateur in medieval history, and the treatment is seldom deep enough for the specialist. Earlier works such as Taylor, or Laistner's *Thought and Letters in Western Europe* and Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur im Mittelalter* (whose three volumes should have been a help to Professor Artz), can all be read profitably by experienced students of the period because they are written out of vast personal knowledge of the material. Taylor, for example, is reported to have read all of Migne's *Patrologia* in preparation for his writing. Where Taylor's book is based upon an unacademic life of reading, Professor Artz's volume is the outgrowth of a quarter-century of teaching and thus more resembles a textbook in organization and point of view. I suspect, therefore, that this latest book will find its greatest audience in that limbo between the amateur and the specialist where American graduate students of history and related subjects live in relative security from either extreme.

The notes and bibliographical portions of the book are excellent. However, once more I contend that a book should be printed for the convenience of the reader, not the typesetter, and that notes should be at the bottom of the text page. A serious reader of this book is continually shifting gears between text and notes and bibliographical commentary, all printed separately.

The author is well aware of the difficulties of writing a general book of this sort and offers in his own preface the book's most critical review. Still, it stands as a fresh attempt to interpret the intellectual achievements of the medieval centuries and contains much rare wisdom and ripe scholarship.

Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON

L'IDÉE D'EMPIRE EN OCCIDENT DU V^e AU XIV^e SIÈCLE. By *Robert Folz*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon. [Collection historique, sous la direction de Paul Lemerle.] (Paris: Aubier. 1953. Pp. 251. 585 fr.)

WHEN in 1950 M. Robert Folz published his *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval* it was hoped that he would pursue the subject further in a work dealing with the medieval concept of empire as a whole. His present book is the fulfillment of that hope. Its basic plan includes four parts: (1) the early elements of the medieval idea of empire; (2) the spread of the idea in its non-Roman forms; (3) the various efforts to effect a synthesis between theory and practice; and finally, (4) the idea of empire apart from its

actual existence. While this plan provides a logical approach to the complex and many-sided problem, it leads inevitably to some repetitiousness which is apparent, for example, in the theme of Christianity as a unifying agency.

The author has emphasized at the outset the Greek concept of *oikouménè* as it was set forth by Panaetius and assimilated by the Romans, and as it was reinforced and sublimated by Christianity. It was, therefore, both as a cultural ideal and as a quasi-religious concept that the empire survived in the minds of men. Although at times seriously threatened in the early Middle Ages by the various *regna*, the *imperium* did not cease to evoke "un pouvoir d'essence supérieure." The dictum of St. Jerome, *Exercitus facit imperatorem*, while undoubtedly applicable to conditions between the third and fifth centuries, could not compete successfully with the idea of a traditionally chosen emperor. For, as M. Folz has emphasized, the pre-eminence of the empire lay in the perpetuation of the fundamental principle of moral superiority, i.e., *auctoritas* as contrasted with the purely legalistic *potestas*. It is at least plausible to conjecture, as the author has done, that the *auctoritas sacra pontificium* in the celebrated text of Pope Gelasius I (492-496) is a conscious effort to transfer the prestige inherent in the classical *auctoritas* to the papal office. Although but a vague concept at that time, the idea of empire in the sense of a Christian unity became a reality from the era of Gregory I, emphasizing, henceforth, the predominance of the hierarchy of the church. Even the ancient territorial integrity was lost after the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, and the idea of *imperium* reasserted itself in regions which had no connection with the ancient empire. The principle of universality, now under the spiritual direction of the papacy, continued primarily as a means of opposing the emerging national states. While M. Folz stresses this idea of Christian universality, he does not neglect the courageous but vain Hohenstaufen effort to substitute as bases of universality the principles of the Roman law and the example of the Byzantine Empire.

In considering the numerous and varied forms which the idea of empire assumed, he deals also with the hegemony established by certain sovereigns through conquests of neighboring principalities. It was in this sense that Jordanes employed the term *imperium* in describing the different ethnic groups under Theodoric, and that Bede employed it as synonymous with the Anglo-Saxon *bretwalda*.

Similarly also, the idea of empire spread south of the Pyrenees in the period between 1065 and 1157 where it exercised a marked influence upon the unification of the Iberian Peninsula until the time of Alphonso VII, whose foreign policy tended to remove Spain from its position of isolation and to associate it more closely with western Europe.

As a synthesis of the conflicting concepts of empire through ten centuries of European history the book is a first-rate achievement. It is the work not only of one who has mastered the sources but of one traversing ground already familiar by virtue of previous researches into other aspects of the medieval empire. It is an interesting and useful feature of the book that it includes some twenty-four

of the documents most pertinent to the idea of empire in the Middle Ages. The highly selective bibliography lists the most important works which directly or indirectly treat of the idea of empire in the Middle Ages.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

STUDIES IN EARLY BRITISH HISTORY. Edited by *Nora K. Chadwick*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 282. \$6.00.)

THE CONQUEST OF WESSEX IN THE SIXTH CENTURY. By *Gordon J. Copley*. (London: Phoenix House. 1954. Pp. 240. 30s.)

UNTIL recently early British and Anglo-Saxon history has been written from scanty and uncertain literary evidence along with much conjecture. Though in any meagerly documented period conjecture cannot be totally erased, happily in these two books it has been kept to a minimum; the literary sources have been judiciously supplemented with place-name, archaeological, topographical, agronomic, and philological evidence. Paradoxically, the facts uncovered by the use of these precise disciplines have, rather than further debunking early British and Anglo-Saxon legend and tradition, actually reinforced them to the point where significant parts pass into the domain of history. For example, a study by the late Professor H. M. Chadwick shows conclusively that Vortigern is a historical personage; that his rule "may have extended over the whole of the Roman province" in the first half of the fifth century. Re-study of the West Saxon king-lists from Cerdic to Ceolwulf by Mr. G. J. Copley confirms his belief in the genuineness of Cerdic; in his opinion "there seems no justification for regarding Bieda and Maegla as anything but real people." It is striking how the portion of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to 597 is consistently verified by the intense search of Mr. Copley into archaeological, topographical, and place-name evidence. One has the feeling after reading these books under review that Gildas, Nennius, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, not unlike Livy and other classical greats, have somehow survived the shafts of the "scientific" skeptics and have emerged stronger than ever with the help of the very sciences that the skeptics in their attacks so often scorned.

Studies in Early British History is frankly for the specialist. It consists of eight studies by six of England's most eminent scholars in the field. Though it is impossible to summarize these highly technical studies, it should be indicated that certain ones are particularly relevant for the medievalist. In "The End of Roman Britain" the late Professor Chadwick has rehabilitated some of Bury's conclusions drawn from the *Notitia Dignitatum* (a register of imperial officials) and has extended the date of the Roman occupation of Britain to at least 430. Another study by Professor Chadwick throws light on the genealogy and chronology of the kings of the British kingdoms. For the reviewer, however, the most significant study is that of Mrs. Nora K. Chadwick on the "Intellectual Contacts

between Britain and Gaul in the Fifth Century." It has increased our knowledge of the many ways by which contact was maintained with the Continent and has provided a meaty chapter on early medieval intellectual history which forms a sort of prologue to the works of Laistner and Levison. Not to be overlooked are the able studies of Professor K. H. Jackson on early British language, Mrs. Rachel Bromwich on the early Welsh tradition, Mr. H. Hunter on the Bernicians and their northern frontier, and Mr. Owen Chadwick on the evidence of dedications of Welsh churches.

If Mr. Copley's book is weak in any respect it is in his failure to decide whether he was writing for the specialist or the layman; a quick perusal will convince the reader that it is for the specialist. It is therefore a shame that Mr. Copley has felt the need to make such concessions to the layman as including elementary historical information and listing in an appendix such items as "ib./ibid., *ibidem*, i.e. 'in the same book or journal'" and "p./pp., page/pages." In the main he has fulfilled his chief objective—showing that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* can be relied upon, in so far as it goes, for the history of sixth-century Wessex. On the celebrated question of how much Roman and British culture survived and influenced the Anglo-Saxons, he offers convincing evidence that there was practically none. Excellent plates and maps show the large amount of place-name, archaeological, and topographical evidence used to reconstruct the conquest and settlement of Wessex; it is such evidence that makes this book so good. His argument makes sense, for instance, when, after pointing out that the Saxon economy on the Continent "was based upon the rich yield of winter fodder from alluvial water-meadows," he shows that in Wessex the Saxons never settled on the "site of an upland village" but invariably concentrated in the river valleys because of the water-meadows that provided winter fodder. Thus on the maps can be traced the advance of the Saxon invaders up the rivers and streams of Wessex.

Both of these works are valuable contributions to the field of early British and Anglo-Saxon history, but especially that of Mr. Copley because his skilled use of fresh evidence helps to clear away the haze of this period.

Harvard University

BRYCE D. LYON

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, 1216-1307. By Sir Maurice Powicke, Formerly Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. [Oxford History of England.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xiv, 829. \$8.00.)

THIS reviewer has long considered Sir Maurice Powicke the greatest of living medieval historians and *The Thirteenth Century* supplies ample evidence of the soundness of this view. A vast mass of minute detail is logically and effectively organized and brilliantly interpreted. Each individual and each institution is carefully and clearly set against the background of the period. Sir Maurice fully

accepts the responsibility of the historian for explaining men's ideas and motives in the light of their times and his comprehensive knowledge of the thirteenth century enables him to do this with rare distinction. The careful reader can grasp with complete clarity the problems facing a seneschal of Gascony, an English justice itinerant, or a Welsh prince. While the story of the development of English law and constitutional theory and practice are highly controversial subjects and not even Sir Maurice can hope to satisfy all the experts, his account is careful, well-balanced, and usually indicates the conflicting points of view. In style Sir Maurice is never dull, is frequently lively, and shows occasional flashes of genius. Thus in describing Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon Sir Maurice speaks of "that unbridled earnestness which made him one of the most fashionable of saints."

A monumental work is bound to contain errors and no one with the possible exception of Sir Maurice himself has enough knowledge of the period to find all of them. Each specialist will note the slips in what is familiar to him. This reviewer was troubled by the statement that the idea of abolishing the sheriff's farm was new in the reign of Henry III when in fact King John had made a vigorous and reasonably successful attempt at the same reform. In places one is forced to wonder whether Sir Maurice did not rely on careless assistants. It is hard to believe that he himself could marry Hubert de Burgh to the daughter of the earl Warenne and Isabella of Gloucester to Geoffrey fitz Peter in the footnote to page 23. This suspicion is strengthened by cases of bad proofreading and some errors in the index such as calling William de Valence the eldest son of Hugh X, count of La Marche. But it should be emphasized that considering the amazing amount of detail in the book the errors seem remarkably few.

When an author has done magnificently what he set out to do, it is usually ungracious to suggest that he should have done something else. But *The Thirteenth Century* is a volume in the "Oxford History of England" and the prospective reader should be warned that it does not belong in that series. The Oxford History was announced as an attempt to weave together all the threads of English history—political, legal, constitutional, economic, social, literary, and artistic—and most of the volumes that have appeared have done this with considerable success. Only in his bibliography has Sir Maurice made the slightest pretense of following this pattern. His book should be entitled the "Political, legal, and constitutional history of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I." When one considers that the thirteenth century was one of the greatest periods of English intellectual and artistic progress and that no one so thoroughly understands that progress as does Sir Maurice, his decision to neglect it is little short of tragic. Moreover the other volumes of the Oxford series are suitable for the general reader with a genuine interest in English history and are highly satisfactory for graduate and undergraduate students. *The Thirteenth Century* will be of immense interest and value to medieval historians who desire a more complete knowledge of the political history of England during this period, but it is far too detailed for the

student or general reader. The historical profession may well be grateful to Sir Maurice for the book he has written, but it cannot help regretting the book he might have written which no one else can possibly do as well.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

THE COMMONS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1422: ENGLISH SOCIETY AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION UNDER THE LANCASTRIANS. By *J. S. Roskell*, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Nottingham. [Studies presented to the International Commission for the History of Parliamentary and Representative Institutions, XIV.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 266. 30s.)

PROFESSOR Roskell, in his exhaustive study of the elected representatives of the parliament of 1422, has brought us as near to the fifteenth-century Commons in parliament as we are likely to come. The "Biographical Notes" on which most of his conclusions rest occupy almost half the volume; the other half is a fascinating essay in which he addresses himself to the "problem of parliamentary representation in the fifteenth century, and to see it whole, in its relation to the nature of later medieval English society." The corporate solidarity of the third estate of the realm in parliament was more than merely the political unity of the Lower House. Ties of kinship and marriage, a common political experience through earlier attendance or through holding office by royal appointment, or both, and "acquaintance" with the same lords or with lords of the same party—these and other ties bound together the knights of the shire and, increasingly as the century wore on, the burgesses. The social homogeneity of the Lower House increased with the growing tendency toward the election of nonresident "burgesses," despite statutory restrictions, a development which Miss M. McKisack showed to have resulted in a revolution in the class structure of the Commons in parliament. Roskell's new evidence for the earlier part of the century amply confirms Miss McKisack's views, and suggests that the revolution was already beginning in 1422 and had reached its height by the mid-century, before the political upheavals of the Wars of the Roses. The "Westminster crowd" was as prominent in 1478 as it had again become in the House of Commons in the middle of Elizabeth's reign, largely due to representation of boroughs by non-burgesses. If the statutes had been obeyed, the burgesses should have enjoyed approximately a three to one majority over the gentry; in fact, the gentry outnumbered the members who really were burgesses by four to three in 1422, and this preponderance had grown to two to one in the Yorkist parliaments.

Several other basic problems of the period are examined, including shire and borough elections and the Commons' role in the constitutional crisis which inaugurated the reign of Henry VI. Throughout, our knowledge of the fifteenth-century parliament is enriched by the author's lucid analysis and keen judgment. Professor Roskell's study not only breaks new ground in parliamentary history;

it is also an indispensable work for the student of the social and economic history of the later Middle Ages.

State University of Iowa

ROBERT S. HOYT

LA SOCIÉTÉ AUX XI^e ET XII^e SIÈCLES DANS LA RÉGION MÂCONNAISE. By *Georges Duby*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix. [Bibliothèque générale de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI^e section]. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1953. Pp. xxxv, 688.)

LIBERTY AND POLITICAL POWER IN TOULOUSE, 1050-1230. By *John Hine Mundy*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 402. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Duby's study of lay society in the region of Mâcon begins with the late tenth century, when Carolingian political machinery was still functioning on the local level. It then examines the transition to feudal institutions and the revival of trade between 980 and 1160. It concludes with the re-establishment of royal power in the Mâconnais and the great social changes caused by the spread of a money economy between 1160 and 1240.

The book is a scholarly and well-documented analysis of social transformation. The author uses both manuscript and printed sources. He relies heavily on cartularies, especially the monumental one of Cluny. He has a gift for precise and clear-cut definition, and he frequently vivifies his theme by description of the varying fortunes of individuals and families. He is familiar with all the standard works in his field, yet in his own conclusions he often displays a high degree of originality and independence.

On the other hand, Professor Duby occasionally appears to oversimplify complex phenomena. Thus he is inclined to explain the dissolution of the political powers of the counts of Mâcon by the policies of an individual count, to the neglect of trends common to western Europe. Moreover, his treatment of social classes is somewhat uneven. His study of the bourgeoisie is more superficial than that of nobility and peasantry. He says almost nothing of the artisans, and one wonders whether there were no guilds at Mâcon, Tournus, Cluny, and Belleville.

In general the reviewer found Professor Duby's references to sources accurate. Occasionally, however, carelessness was detected in the transcription of Latin (see, for example, p. 49, n. 1; p. 51, n. 1; p. 168, n. 4; p. 300, n. 3; p. 593, n. 4). The most annoying defect in the book is the print, which on occasion is so unclear that the identification of words becomes a matter of conjecture.

Professor John Mundy's study of Toulouse in the period 1050-1230 first traces the stages by which political power was transferred from the hands of the count to those of consuls representative of the urban patriciate. It then examines in considerable detail various aspects of the period 1188-1230, when consular power was at its apogee. Among the topics discussed are the attempt of Toulouse to dominate

the surrounding *contado*, the rise of new men to political office, in which Professor Mundy sees a trend toward democracy, and the Albigenian Crusade.

Professor Mundy's narrative is clear and logical. His analysis of the actual powers transferred from count to consuls is systematic and thorough. The outstanding feature of his work is, however, the light he is able to throw on the social origins of the consuls and other urban leaders. He has been able to do this through extensive research in unpublished archival material.

The notes to the text, which are confined to the latter part of the book, are exceedingly copious. No doubt the necessity of quoting from unpublished sources justifies the great length of many of them. Some, however, could have been shortened to great advantage. In the opinion of this reviewer, too, a single, classified bibliography would have been preferable to one bibliography of archival material preceding the notes and a second one of books and articles following them.

Unfortunately the references in the notes are not always accurate. Thus, page 271, note 8, "*Rolls Series*, LI³, 151 and 153" should be LI², 161ff. Moreover, as in Professor Duby's book, there is carelessness in quotations (see, for example, p. 235, n. 32; p. 283, n. 63; p. 287, n. 9; p. 292, n. 30; p. 294, n. 35; p. 366, n. 26).

Despite minor flaws, each of these books makes an interesting and valuable contribution to our knowledge of French local history of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

Dartmouth College

JOHN R. WILLIAMS

Modern European History

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. Volume II, RELIGIO DEPOPULATA. By *Philip Hughes*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xxv, 366. \$7.50.)

THIS, the second volume of Father Hughes's projected three-volume history of the Reformation in England, is, like its predecessor, a scholarly and interestingly written work. In this volume Father Hughes carries the story from the fall of Cromwell in 1540 to the death of Mary Tudor in 1558. These eighteen years saw extremely wide variations in the official religious position of the English government, and in describing these changes the author is at his best. His chapters on the increasingly conservative church of Henry's last years, on the radicalism of the reign of Edward VI, and on the Catholic restoration under Mary—and, incidentally, on the dissensions among the Protestant exiles in the latter reign—are detailed, and at the same time very clear. It may be a long time before this lucid account of the shifting sands of religious doctrine is surpassed.

Yet for all its very considerable merits this book has one great weakness, which the author would probably cheerfully admit to, and not regard as a "weakness" at all. Father Hughes is a partisan. He writes from the Roman Catholic point of

view, and his evident distaste for the Reformation and all its works leads him occasionally into rather strained interpretations of his factual material. For example, the Chantry Act of 1545, which was designed, in Father Hughes's words, to prevent the "little private ventures of confiscation and embezzlement" which followed on the dissolution of the monasteries (p. 151), means that "Henry VIII had been ready to tear down the universities in order to steady the national finances" (p. 159)—this in the face of Henry's foundation of Trinity College at Cambridge in 1546. The author goes on to say, "there were, in the reform party, those who would have torn them [the universities] down to destroy all that could distract man from the unique source of truth, the Christian religion as they had come to see this, and as they were determined to force it on their fellows" (p. 159). The evidence cited for this statement is the radical pamphlet *The Revelation of Antichrist*, which was condemned as heretical in 1530. Thus the statement is literally true, but extremely misleading.

The same sort of thing shows up in the author's account of the Marian burnings. Not that he defends them; he calls them a "horrible visitation" (p. 255). But he leaves the impression that the Protestants were no better, because Cranmer and his associates burned Joan of Kent and George van Parris under Edward VI. He then goes on to quote with approval C. H. Smyth's statement that at least two thirds of those burned under Mary would almost undoubtedly have been burned under Edward VI had he survived (p. 262, n.). This is to argue that those in control of the church under Edward VI, who burned two heretics in the six years of their power, would have burned two hundred more had the king reigned five years longer. This is, to say the least, open to grave doubt.

Nevertheless, in spite of partisan arguments such as the above, Father Hughes's book is well worth reading. It is well to have a full-dress Catholic account of the English Reformation, to balance the traditional Protestant accounts of men like Pollard. On the whole the volume is a valuable contribution to the historiography of the Reformation.

Princeton University

MAURICE LEE, JR.

MEMBERS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT. By *Douglas D. Brunton* and *D. H. Pennington*. Introduction by R. H. Tawney. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xxi, 256. \$4.25.)

THIS is an important book about a topic of perennial interest. Messrs. Pennington and Brunton (the latter's sudden and premature death is a real loss) have attempted an analysis of the Commons House of the Long Parliament, November 3, 1640, to April 20, 1653. With considerable modesty they suggest that the conclusions reached after an extremely detailed and arduous study of the personnel of this parliament are of a limited and largely negative nature. Royalists and parliamentary members of parliament came at this time from much the same social classes and had similar educational backgrounds. About half the members

had studied at Oxford and Cambridge, about one third of them in the Inns of Court. About the same number of landed gentry, merchants, and lawyers are to be found on either side. Possibly the most striking difference in the original composition of the House may be found in the fact that members of Royalist leanings are noticeably younger than their opponents and that in the end, upstarts, new men, who seized the opportunity afforded by the wars to enter the House, failed to establish political dynasties. The authors see no signs in the parliamentary picture of a class struggle, though in the countryside, signs of resistance by the propertyless and the oppressed may be observed. Everywhere, the local position and connections of members seem more important in deciding their election to the House than their occupations, their politics, or their religion. This volume emphasizes the importance of the local, in contrast with the national, element in parliamentary elections in a way which is an exceedingly valuable reminder of an aspect of political life which is apt to be forgotten or ignored by modern historians. All students of seventeenth-century politics will find in this volume salutary reminders of the dangers of loose generalizations about the connection of political activity and local or economic classifications.

It should be realized that these statistical studies do not answer some of our most important questions about the causes of the Civil War or other controversies in English political history. The authors of this valuable study apologize for the fact that their tables reveal little of a member's outlook. They note that manuscripts survive in sufficient quantity to give glimpses of "complex inner tensions and forces" of the Long Parliament. On the other hand, though this book admirably avoids the danger, the historian may well lose sight of the wood for the trees in such researches. We cannot afford to ignore, even when we know more of the private motives of members, their public statements of policy and those analyses made by their near contemporaries whose conclusions were based on a sort of knowledge which the twentieth-century student finds hard to acquire. We must, for example, learn a political vocabulary using many terms identical with those used today which have completely altered their meaning and the pre-suppositions which lie behind their application. Not the least significant of the services *Members of the Long Parliament* performs is the reminder of the enormous difficulty of the work of the historian.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE ORIGINS OF THE LABOUR PARTY, 1880-1900. By Henry Pelling, Fellow and Tutor of the Queen's College, Oxford. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 258. \$4.00.)

THIS book describes and accounts for the founding in 1900 of the British Labour party. It retells much that has been told before: the working class discontent with existing parties and the socialist revival of the 1880's, the origin of Henry Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation and William Morris' Socialist

League, the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour party, and the new unionism. Again one is impressed with what accomplishments—excepting agreement among themselves—very small numbers of devoted enthusiasts can effect; the table in Appendix A indicates that in these years the socialist societies' membership was usually in the hundreds and never over ten thousand, yet the output of literature and the propaganda activity were truly amazing. Although these outlines are familiar, the treatment is fresh. The author has gone beyond the official publications and found much of interest in the correspondence, diaries, and papers of the leaders. An unusual feature is an account of the Labour church movement. If anyone has been underestimated, it is Robert Blatchford, who in the nineties probably made more converts to socialism through his readable *Clarion* newspaper than did any other single group. The author is concerned mainly with the history of the idea of an alliance of socialists and trade unionists in a labor party, however, so that H. H. Champion, a pioneer advocate of this tactic, is here lifted into greater prominence.

The author stresses the role of the socialists in bringing the Labour party into existence, although their creation never became socialist until the adoption of the program of 1918. It was their faith which provided the driving force lacking among the trade unionists, more numerous but easygoing and interested in limited objectives. As early as 1881 Engels suggested a labor party independent of "ruling class parties," but the real initiative came in 1887 from Champion and then from Keir Hardie, who founded the Independent Labour party in 1893 and later converted the Trades Union Congress to the idea. The author points out the difficulty of the task, because the nonsocialists who dominated the unions would have been very happy to remain in the Liberal party had it adapted itself to the democratic electorate of the reform bills; its resistance to the demand for a larger representation of workingmen among its parliamentary candidates seemed to leave no option to trade unionists but to co-operate with socialists in a labor party.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

THE SPLENDID CENTURY. By *W. H. Lewis*. (New York: William Sloane Associates. 1954. Pp. xiv, 306. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is the work of a nonspecialist and was written for the entertainment and edification of a generous cross-section of the reading public. As the author himself states, the work might well have been entitled "Some Aspects of French Life in the Days of Louis XIV," since it does considerably less than justice to many aspects of the rich and varied experiences of the French people during the "splendid century." With disarming candor, Mr. Lewis states in his foreword that he has omitted all consideration of (1) the French Navy, the *parlements* and their struggles with the crown, the diplomatic and civil services, and (2) the realms of philosophy, painting, and architecture. He might have

added that the broader and more enduring phases of economic, institutional, diplomatic, and intellectual developments receive scant attention. Instead, the author has produced a series of quasi-independent essays upon the topics: the king, court, common people, church, army, country gentleman, town, medical world, art of living, galleys, sea travel, female education, and the world of letters. This selection of topics, all of which are given approximately equal space, adequately indicates the author's interests and the intent of the volume.

Avoiding such intangibles as movements and meanings, Mr. Lewis throughout addresses himself to the more specific details of daily life as experienced by individuals on all levels of French society. His flair for the picturesque is everywhere evident, whether he is describing the intricacies of the royal *levée*, the liquidation of the Huguenots, the relations between *seigneur* and peasant in rural Brittany, the barbarisms of the medical profession, accepted standards of domestic economy, or the precarious existence of the struggling man of letters, not to mention such fascinating matters as the peculiar quality of Paris mud, purgative soups, the royal sexual morality, and innumerable other delights culled chiefly from the memoirs of the period. The level of approach is thus distinctly not that of the vast majority of the historians' guild. However, for the reader who seeks the type of information which this volume contains, it compares favorably with many similar treatments of the period in the selection of materials, sustained interest, the few judgments attempted, and above all the communication to the reader of a genuine feeling for the innumerable intricacies of human experience during the reign of the sun king. The volume contains suggestions for further reading and is well indexed.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

LA FRONDE. By *Ernst H. Kossmann*. [Leidse historische Reeks, Deel III.] (Leiden: Universitaire Pers; distrib. by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague. 1954. Pp. x, 275. Cloth fl. 13,75, paper fl. 11,50.)

IN his introduction to this work Dr. Kossmann states that his purpose is to study systematically the published sources concerning the Fronde in an effort to reappraise the nature and importance of this complex movement in French history. Too many of the writers on this subject, the author asserts, have been unduly influenced by the ideas of Chéruel, and they have accepted uncritically his presentation of the facts and their significance. Likewise he rejects both the findings of Madelin and Sainte-Aulaire, who discovered in the Fronde the principles of the Revolution of 1789, and the conclusions of the provocative study of the Russian scholar Porchnev, who examined the popular uprisings of the whole period from 1625 to 1649 from the point of view of Marxist ideology. Neither does the author accept the interpretation of Paul Doolin, the most recent American writer on the subject, who considered the Fronde as a vitally important act of opposition against royal power mainly in defense of the prestige of other authorities of the French state.

Having rejected the different emphases of these older accounts, the author proceeds to present his own views on this difficult and involved subject. He interprets the Fronde as essentially a negative event, lacking in any creative importance. No revolution, either parliamentary, popular, or feudal, he declares, was possible in seventeenth-century France. The Fronde, he believes, added nothing to the course of history, for the movement was so limited in effect by its own powerlessness that it neither anticipated the trends of the future nor brought about a return to political ideals of the past. To Dr. Kossmann the Fronde remains a period of imprudence and of exaggeration without sense and without aim. This aimlessness is attributed mainly to the fact that the opponents of the government failed to concentrate their manifold activities upon any single essential objective. The Fronde is explained as an episode which resulted from the breakdown of the delicate state of equilibrium that existed in French society, and one of the chief values obtained from the study of this period, the author avers, is a better understanding of the social structure of the baroque monarchy.

This monograph is divided into six relatively long chapters in addition to a short introduction and conclusion. Dr. Kossmann begins his account with an examination of the nature of the French state in the middle of the seventeenth century and then traces the complicated story of the growing conflict between the *parlement* of Paris and the crown between 1643 and 1649. In succeeding chapters he discusses the blockade of Paris, the Fronde in the provinces, and the general course of the civil war to August, 1653. The author's conclusions, judging from the footnotes, appear to be based upon wide and extensive reading. There is an excellent bibliography of eleven pages, including over four pages of contemporary pamphlet literature. The index is brief but serviceable.

University of Alabama

BERNERD C. WEBER

L'INTENDANCE DE BRETAGNE (1689-1790): ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE D'UNE INTENDANCE EN PAYS D'ETAT AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. In three volumes. By *Henri Fréville*, Agrégé d'Histoire et Géographie, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes. (Rennes: J. Philon. 1953. Pp. 514, 382, 418. 3600 fr.)

THESE three volumes complement prior studies of the intendants and provide a significant contribution to an understanding of French absolutism. The thorough use of manuscript materials, fluent prose, chapter and general conclusions, and careful documentation evidence the best historical scholarship. A classified bibliography of forty-five pages and a detailed index facilitate consultation.

The objective of Louis XIV in establishing the intendency in the last French province to receive one was the extension of uniform administration and protection, rather than opposition by Brittany to royal authority. After discussion of the origins, Fréville treats chronologically the twelve intendants, the first five (1692-1753) in Volume I, the next four (1754-74) in Volume II, and the last three

(1774-90) in Volume III. Feydeau de Brou, Pontcarré de Viarmes, Le Bret, and Bertrand de Molleville emerge as the most important.

Three aspects of the intendency are emphasized in the narrative and summarized in the conclusion: (1) relationships to the central authority, (2) relationships with the province, and (3) internal organization of the intendency. Fréville indicates that the intendency followed closely the vicissitudes of central authority. When the king's ministers were strong, there was little local opposition to the exercise or growth of the intendant's power, whereas weakness or vacillation of the central authority enabled the provincial estates and *parlement* to take power away from the intendant. In their struggles against the pretensions of these bodies, dominated by the Breton nobility, the intendants carried support from the Third Estate. Rivalry or co-operation with the royally appointed military governor was also an important factor. By 1774, the intendant has changed from chief local official of the centralized bureaucracy to political representative of the king and has lost to, or shares with, provincial agencies the most important functions.

While supervising execution of the king's orders in Brittany, the intendants supplied the central authority with extensive information and suggestions in reports and correspondence—now invaluable historical sources. Activities of the intendants in building up towns (*urbanisme*), promoting communications, agriculture, and commerce, and in public welfare (especially with respect to pauperism, sanitation, and health), attest their concern for the province. Fréville challenges Ardascheff, whose work appeared in French translation in 1909, on the sacrifice of central to provincial welfare, but corroborates his distinction between an "enlightened" man and "enlightened" administration. Fréville minimizes the influence of humanitarian theory on the intendants in Brittany and ascribes their extensive welfare measures to efficient administration of increased functions.

Fréville has high praise for the organization of the subordinate bureaus of the intendency. The office of general assistant (*subdélégué général*) was instituted in 1716, and by virtue of the choice of Bretons and the long tenure of a man like Védier, provided continuity of administration and harmonized national and provincial policies. Fréville suggests that the intendency contributed to the future prefecture, through personnel transferred to the new municipal and departmental administrations organized in 1790.

Important light is thrown on the eve of the French Revolution by analysis of the intendency of Bertrand de Molleville (1784-88). Bertrand is defended as an able administrator, active in mitigating the economic crisis of 1785 (more acute elsewhere in 1788-89) and in increasing rural medical services. Handicapped by vacillations from the central government and the military governor (comte de Thiard), Bertrand alienated the privileged orders and failed to win the Third Estate, despite his advocacy of tax and electoral reforms favorable to it. Fréville attributed the clamor for the Estates General of all three classes in Brittany to provincialism—defense of class and provincial privileges—and not to ideas of national unity and popular sovereignty. He refutes conspiracy charges advanced by

Cochin. Royal authority and the intendancy were compromised, and Breton particularism strengthened on the eve of 1789. The electoral period and suppression of the intendants might have been given further study.

The historian of law and administration and of social history will find these volumes particularly useful. Twenty-one illustrations and much detail will delight local historians. The broad scope, scholarly presentation, and able synthesis provide a valuable addition to the history of the French monarchy and the decline of the Old Regime.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

LE GRAND CARNOT: L'ORGANISATEUR DE LA VICTOIRE, 1792-1823.

By *Marcel Reinhard*. [Figures du passé.] (Paris: Hachette. 1952. Pp. 392.)

THIS second volume completes the best biography of Carnot yet published. Volume I (*AHR*, LVIII [July, 1953], 909) showed how Carnot became a revolutionary. Well organized and skillfully written, the second volume reveals what kind of revolutionary he became. As a masterly treatment of the interrelations of politics and war, it also sheds significant new light on the army as a social institution, the origins of nationalism and "total war," the nature of the Terror and the Revolutionary government, the Directory's inner history, Carnot's relations with Bonaparte, and the operations of the Napoleonic administration.

The work is based on thorough research in French and British repositories and in private collections (notably Carnot family archives), but not in notarial archives. All known sources plus the author's own discoveries are interpreted with erudition, imagination, and a critical sense undulled by hero worship. Warschauer and Dupre are the only secondary works Reinhard considers "scientific." All sides of controversial questions are presented fairly. The author states his own conclusions clearly and effectively.

Carnot emerges as neither the military genius and steadfast democrat of republican tradition nor the mediocre and unprincipled timeserver condemned by opponents. Reinhard appreciates Carnot's skillful and energetic administration of the war but he rightly credits the "organization of victory," including the new strategy and tactics, to revolutionary teamwork. Carnot tried to defend the Republic but actually contributed to its ruin. His responsibility for the Terror, Thermidor, dissension among the Directors, and the advent of Bonaparte was heavy. By turns he was Girondin and Montagnard, Director and Bonapartist minister, opponent and defender of the Empire, decorated by Louis XVIII and Minister of the Hundred Days and finally exiled. "Il fut opportuniste sans savoir distinguer à temps ce qui était opportun. Il se trompa sur les hommes et fut trompé par eux. Il fit triompher ce qu'il abhorrait et ne sut pas maintenir ce qu'il préférait. Il fut carrière d'homme d'État sans en avoir les qualités" (p. 342). Carnot was more liberal reformer than violent revolutionary in his political and social ideas.

These Reinhard compares to the ideas of Saint-Simon. Carnot, it can be objected, may foreshadow "technocracy" but he emphatically rejected socialism.

Since it will probably long remain the standard work, one regrets that Reinhard's publisher could not allow him three volumes. The second could have treated at greater length the most significant period of Carnot's career—the year II. An index, infrapaginal notes, and more accurate and fuller source citations would also have improved this magisterial publication.

University of Florida

DAVID L. DOWD

PROPHECY AND PAPACY: A STUDY OF LAMENNAIS, THE CHURCH, AND THE REVOLUTION. [The Birkbeck Lectures, 1952–1953.] By *Alec R. Vidler*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1954. Pp. 300. \$3.75.)

ONE of the more fruitless occupations of the historian is the attempt to prove that a given figure was born before or after his time, that his ideas would have been much more acceptable in an age other than his own. Such a preoccupation has characterized much of the work done on Félicité de Lamennais ever since Sainte-Beuve wrote in 1832 that "M. de La Mennais n'est pas et n'a jamais été homme du jour; on peut même dire qu'il n'est pas homme de ce siècle. . . ." In more recent years, whether the critic has emphasized Lamennais' ultramontanism, his liberal Catholicism, or his Christian democratic beliefs, there has been a tendency to point out to what extent he anticipated subsequent developments in the Catholic Church.

The title of this study, a much expanded and annotated version of a series of lectures delivered at Cambridge University by the Canon of St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle, might suggest that this is another such attempt. But with the exception of an epilogue in which Canon Vidler cautiously suggests some of the numerous areas in which Lamennais' influence has been felt, the author avoids any effort to situate Lamennais in a time other than his own. Instead he uses the term "prophet" in its Hebraic sense as one "who believes himself to be charged directly by God with a mission to declare the divine judgment on ecclesiastical corruption, or to promote a more or less radical reformation or the adaptation of the church to a new historical environment." Every church has its "prophets" and its "priests," argues Canon Vidler, using these terms in a symbolic sense, and it is the tension between the two—between those who are sensitive to historic change and to the need for adaptation to it and those who feel bound to preserve what has been handed down—that makes for the vitality of a church. It is the author's thesis that this was the essence of the conflict between Lamennais, the prophet, and Pope Gregory XVI, the priest, each reacting in characteristic fashion to the changes wrought by the French Revolution, each advocating a different line of approach for the church in meeting the problems of the age.

One need not agree with this interpretation of the encounter between Lamennais and the Vatican in order to appreciate Canon Vidler's study, which is a

scholarly work of the first order. Although the author treats some of the disputed points in Lamennais' career and gives the reader a glimpse into his personal life, the book is not intended primarily as a biography but rather as an essay in ecclesiastical or intellectual history. Through a careful examination of Lamennais' major works and an account of his changing relationship with the church, the author succeeds in exposing the broader challenges facing Catholicism in the first half of the nineteenth century and the responses offered by the French hierarchy and the papacy.

Aside from Laski's chapter in *Authority and the Modern State*, there has been surprisingly little good scholarly work done on Lamennais in English. For this reason it may be said that this book "fills an important gap," but it would be unfortunate to conclude with this cliché, for the book does much more than this. Using the same objective but sympathetic approach that characterized his *Modernist Movement in the Roman Church*, Canon Vidler has provided a new and stimulating interpretation of Lamennais written with unusual literary grace.

Wesleyan University

CHARLES BREUNIG

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). 1^{re} Série (1871-1900), tome XIII (16 OCTOBRE 1896-31 DÉCEMBRE 1897). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1953. Pp. xxxvi, 677.)

THE Cretan insurrection of February, 1897, and the ensuing Greco-Turk war, as one might expect, occupy nearly half as much space (156 out of 388 documents) as all the other subjects put together in this volume. Muraviev, though he had been in charge of the Russian Foreign Office only six weeks, took the initiative in suggesting energetic co-operation by the Great Powers for dealing with the crisis. Generally, always in closest touch with Hanotaux at Paris, he played a leading and pacific role. The Russians were worried lest a British fleet should enter the Sea of Marmora to put pressure on the Turks, and the French were worried by alarming reports of their military attaché which seemed to indicate a possible Russian move from Odessa to seize the Straits and repeat the Unkiar Skelessi situation of 1833. The Germans inclined to a standoffish attitude of *ni mandat, ni veto* (p. 128). But in general there was less mutual suspicion and friction between the Great Powers than a decade or so later. The Concert of Europe worked successfully in compelling the withdrawal of Greek troops from Crete, the installing of an autonomous administration, and the localization of the Greco-Turk war.

The next most discussed country was Abyssinia, to which four of the Powers sent missions. Russia sent an imposing delegation for prestige purposes after a discredited Russian agent had tried to sell Menelik old guns at three times their value. Italy's mission was to regulate matters still unsettled after her defeat at Aduwa.

The French and British missions were more important since the Upper Nile was the focal point toward which Marchand and Kitchener were converging. The French minister in Addis Ababa, Lagarde, and missions under Bonvalot and Bonchamps secured an agreement by which Menelik's forces and the French would join hands across the Nile. Lagarde also secured a commercial treaty giving France special privileges and in return promised French guns and ammunition to Menelik. The English missions under Rennell Rodd from Egypt and Major MacDonald from Uganda, according to the French, aimed to secure for Kitchener's Anglo-Egyptian expedition a friendly Abyssinia at the rear of the Mahdi, but accomplished little.

Other interesting subjects dealt with in this volume are Hanotaux's constant suspicions of British intentions and his irritation over the situation in Egypt and on the Niger; his unsuccessful effort to get a Russian delegate appointed to the Ottoman Debt Commission; doubts of French financial experts about the wisdom of granting more French loans to Russia; and, near the end of the period, the sudden German occupation of Kiaochow.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

LES SOCIALISMES FRANÇAIS ET ALLEMAND ET LE PROBLÈME DE LA GUERRE, 1870-1914. By *Milorad M. Drachkovitch*. [Etudes d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, III.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1953. Pp. xi, 385. 20 frs., \$4.70.)

ANALYTICAL studies may be better calculated than narrative accounts to prove preconceptions, but the charm of their symmetry and detachment of their logic often leaves one with a sense of the unreal. Such an impression can be avoided if the author makes a strong effort throughout to maintain objectivity and to reconstruct events as they actually happened. This, Professor Drachkovitch has not done to the reviewer's satisfaction. The anti-German bias which the author—a Serbian immigrant to Belgium—has subtly insinuated into Parts II (German Socialists) and III (International Socialists) of his work has had baneful consequences; it has led him, for the sake of his argument, all but to lift the SPD out of the environmental current that fixed its fate.

A main proposition of Professor Drachkovitch is that autochthonous French socialism, with its democratic, individualist, idealist heritage, was endemically incapable of absorbing intransigent "German Communism" (Marxism) (pp. 171-74, 309). Unacceptable to this reviewer is the thesis (suggestive of excessive reliance upon Andler and Röpke) that underlies this notion: "toutes les différences entre les Français et les Allemands comme peuples se répercutaient forcément sur leurs socialismes" (p. 345). From this thesis follows the intellectually dangerous, if not demonstrably false, conclusion that the evolution of German socialist thinking in the direction of nationalism and the *Burgfrieden* was preordained by intrinsic traits in the German mentality: e.g., its natural obedience to "un ordre

du pouvoir" (p. 345), its genius for organization and "Gründlichkeit" (pp. 210, 350-51); and its prudent disdain for barricade revolutions (pp. 272, 275, 348). When one presumes to divine the procession of history by thus peering into the crystal ball of national character, does he not indulge a mystic determinism akin to racism?

Disproportionate emphasis accorded the views of the miscellany of French socialist groups (Guesdists, Allemanists, Possibilists, Anarchists, Blanquists, Independents) and of the united SFIO, compared with space given the SPD (180 vs. 124 pp.), is disturbing in view of the author's recognition of German primacy within the Second International (p. 273). Concern becomes suspicion when it is found that 227 items in the bibliography are in French, while only 55 are in German.

If the bibliography were rich, it would, of course, be pedantic to censure failure to consult this or that source. But a relatively modest documentation omits all works in Russian and cites only one in English. We may perhaps condone the Russian; but we cannot, the omission of such solid contributions in English as those by Pease, Weinstein, Bernstein, Jellinek, Mason, Lenz, Rocker, Steckloff, Fainsod, and Marks. Lacunae in German-language documentation are numerous and unjustified. While Kautsky's *Sozialisten und Krieg* has been generously mined, significant older works, many of them sources, by Frölich, Goldenberg, Günther, Croll, Katzenberger, Ströbel, and Vollmar have been ignored, as have also the valuable histories by Lipinski and Doerzbacher and the more recent studies by Rikli, Baier, Brandis, and Dittmann. Most annoying of all is the absence of Mehring's *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (4 vols.). There has been no serious consultation of the four French socialist dailies or the ninety-four German of the era. Some of Bernstein's and Kautsky's best works have been disregarded. No use was made of the valuable manuscript life of Bebel by Kautsky's son, Benedikt. Almost no attempt was made to tap the riches of *Die Neue Zeit*, *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, or *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*. Considerable space is devoted to the attitudes of trade union leaders, but no sign is given of familiarity with works on the unions by Kampffmeyer, Gleichauf, Hirschfeld, Prokovitsch, or Sanders. Finally, the ideological evolution of the party under the anti-Socialist laws (1878-90) surely deserves some documentation and more than a paragraph, when Mehring, Brandis, and Kampffmeyer have devoted practically whole books to it.

Despite major defects, Professor Drachkovitch's monograph is not without merit. One must admire its close reasoning, rational organization, and limpid style. The work will help illumine some of the forces motivating French and German socialist attitudes toward war, militarism in the abstract, and the outbreak of World War I in reality.

Fort Sill, Oklahoma

WILLIAM H. MAEHL

THE STRUCTURE OF SPANISH HISTORY. By *Américo Castro*. Translated by *Edmund L. King*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 689. \$9.00.)

The Structure of Spanish History is the kind of work that mature scholars produce, the summation of many years of study and thought by Américo Castro. A Spanish version (*España en su historia*, Buenos Aires, 1948) was published six years ago. The work now offered in translation is enlarged and strengthened and deserves to rank as the definitive edition.

To correct any misapprehension at the start, this is not a history of Spain but a discussion of Spanish history, following no chronological sequence and dealing with a succession of ideas rather than events. Professor Castro has burrowed deeply into all forms of the Spanish literature he knows so well, to interpret the Spanish past and to illuminate the working of the Spanish mind.

The problem, as he sees it, is that of explaining the mental insecurity felt by Spaniards ever since the expulsion of the Moors by Ferdinand and Isabella. Much use is made in the book of the expression "vivir desviviéndose," which is not easily translated into English but implies the idea of psychological frustration. In attributing this feeling to his countrymen, Professor Castro differentiates sharply—too sharply some will feel—between the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of Europe.

It is important in this connection to decide just when and how the true Spanish history begins. Castro will not accept an early date. The Romans, he says, were not Spaniards, and he next marshals evidence to show that the Visigothic era was pre-Spanish. Not until the tenth century does he find a Spain that can be identified with the present one, just as "we sometimes recognize an unmistakable resemblance between the face of an old man and a photograph of the same person when he was a child" (p. 650).

What had made the difference, of course, was the Arabian invasion of the year 711. Not only did the Moslems hold the bulk of Spain for three centuries and lesser parts for much longer; their higher civilization exerted great influence on the parts never conquered. This explains the emergence of the legend of Saint James of Compostela, popularly regarded as the twin brother of Jesus, whom the Spanish Christians needed as a personal counterpoise to the holy prophet, Mohammed. It explains much of the quixotic element in the Spanish character and the lack of any strong scientific impulse in Iberian civilization. Should the last statement appear questionable, Castro explains that while the Moslems possessed scientists, their activities were incidental and devoted only to occasional practical ends.

The Moors finally overcome, Christian Spain found itself stamped with an Afro-Oriental coloring and lacking now the strong sense of purpose that had once been felt. Spain also by now was decidedly out of touch with the Europe of which, during the historically formative centuries, it had never been truly a part. There remained the task of building both the European and American empires,

but neither of these absorbed Spanish energy or dominated thought as had the earlier crusade. To the extent that Castro's book has chronological limits, it ends with the confusion of the Spanish mind during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Some of Castro's ideas are obviously not altogether new, but there is always novelty in the way he expounds them. Perhaps none but a Spaniard is ideally equipped to grapple with this author, whose argument is often as much a matter of feeling as of the concrete evidence which makes the average historian feel at home. I believe, nonetheless, that Castro has belabored some points more than is necessary. His contention that a Spaniard is an altogether different creature from a Frenchman or a German might best be answered by the old Spanish saying, "He who proves too much proves nothing." Castro pleads a total absence of important science among his countrymen, although if he had been in a different frame of mind he could have shown that, for a time at least, Catalonia and Majorca had the leading role in the development of modern cartography and the astronomical sciences.

What sometimes arouses distrust of these brilliant but essentially subjective analyses of civilization is that their ideators feel obliged to fit every fact into the pattern. Spengler did it; Toynbee does it; and Castro cannot resist the temptation. I could wish that he had been content to prove a little less, though he has unmistakably performed a work of brilliance with which scholars of Spanish culture will reckon for years to come.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

CAVOUR AND GARIBALDI, 1860: A STUDY IN POLITICAL CONFLICT.

By *D. Mack Smith*, Fellow of Peterhouse. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 458. \$8.50.)

THE surveys of the unification movements in nineteenth-century Italy have been written and the general outlines of the story are fairly well understood. Below the surface of the outlines there remain the details to be fitted into their proper niches and analyses made of the forces at work in the making of the national movements. These will inevitably strengthen some concepts already formed and radically alter others. The time has arrived in the writing of the history of the Risorgimento for the Age of the Monograph.

The new age is already beginning to bear fruit in this very excellent study by D. Mack Smith, in which he has undertaken to analyze the course of revolutionary politics during a civil war which, within the span of a few months, transformed the Italian peninsula from a melange of insignificant states to a nation just short of territorial completeness. It is the story of the labors of Garibaldi and of Cavour in the dramatic months of 1860 that brought the whole of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and much of central Italy under the banner of the House of Savoy.

From a multitude of archives, some of them hitherto unexplored, the author has drawn the materials to reconstruct a virtual day-by-day account of the political activities of Cavour and Garibaldi as well as of the machinations of the supporting actors in the drama of annexation. Very much a part of the story are the responses of the "liberated" peoples of the south to the wishes of the dictator-general; to the blandishments of Cavour; to the appeals of autonomists; and to any number of others having programs to sell.

Rather reluctantly, since romantic legend dies only with difficulty, one is forced to agree with Mr. Smith on the basis of the evidence that Garibaldi in political manipulation was inexperienced, prone to take bad advice, and, at times, unintelligent. But the luster of his greatness as a general remains untarnished, and his grasp and understanding of affairs beyond the mire of politics reconfirms what one historian called his "rare bon sens qui lui tient lieu de science et d'art politique."

In the activities of Cavour the antics of the skilled manipulator are clearly revealed. First in exploiting the successes of Garibaldi and then in cutting the ground out from under the general at every turn of the political card; by using Garibaldi in the literal sense of the word, and then bending him to the will and need of the Cavourian schemes, the Piedmontese "architect" won the Italian south and undertook to remake it in the Piedmontese image. Decades of military occupation, open revolt, and the very questionable success of the Piedmontization of southern Italy even now challenges the genius so often ascribed to the plans conceived by Cavour. It is a matter of opinion to be sure, but I find it difficult to agree with Mr. Smith that Cavour's work "was a fine example of resourceful opportunism"—the implication of mastery in statecraft. Clever he was but his opportunism, to me, was of the bargain-basement variety in the one decade of the nineteenth-century when the political adventurer was permitted to run rampant.

University of Mississippi

GEORGE A. CARBONE

I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI. Settima Serie: 1922-1935. Volume I (31 OTTOBRE 1922-26 APRILE 1923). (Rome: Ministero degli Affari esteri, Commissione per la pubblicazione dei documenti diplomatici. 1953. Pp. lviii, 582.)

THIS first volume in the seventh series of the official publication of Italian diplomatic documents covers a six-month period from Mussolini's assumption of the premiership and direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a coalition government to the resignation of the *popolari* from his cabinet, a date of greater significance in the internal history of the Fascist regime than in the development of Italian foreign policy. Since neither the Archivio di Gabinetto nor the Archivio della Segreteria di Benito Mussolini yielded many papers for this period, the collection is virtually limited to dispatches from ambassadors, ministers, and consuls-general and instructions by Mussolini as foreign minister. Only on occa-

sion does the editor, Ruggero Moscati, reproduce manuscript notations on the documents or less formal diplomatic materials; internal memorandums, unofficial commentaries by members of the ministry, or intelligence reports from special agents do not figure in the selection. For those who require a full-blooded, circumstantial version of the motivations behind diplomatic relations Italian archives no doubt still hold rich sources which are not included in this compendium. The reflection holds true for the Italian state publication as it does for similar works currently appearing under the direction of the United States and the British governments.

While the ground has been substantially covered by the *Libri Verdi* issued in 1923, the present volume fills in many details on the sudden emergence of a dynamic Italian government which forced England and France to take cognizance of an ally thrust aside during the Paris Peace Conference and early chaotic post-World War I years. Mussolini's initial appearance as a figure in international politics is signaled by anxiety over world reaction to his new regime. On November 1, 1922 (document no. 19), he instructed his representatives in all foreign countries to report the opinion of political, diplomatic, financial, and journalistic circles on the Fascist rise to power. For the most part the diplomatic agents transmitted such favorable observations as their new leader would be pleased to hear. (Sforza of course resigned as ambassador in Paris, though there is a curious request for an interview, document no. 87, which was refused.) During the ensuing six months—at Lausanne, during the crisis over French occupation of the Ruhr, and at reparations conferences—Mussolini cut a more imposing figure than had any Italian foreign minister in years. Despite the Fascist revolution the ministry continued to follow many of the lines of diplomatic policy laid down by Baron Sonnino. Italy still demanded parity with her World War allies and the maintenance of "equilibrium in the Eastern Mediterranean"; she still tried to play the French and the British off against each other, though there was growing emphasis on the advantages of a Continental bloc against Britain. Reports on Russia, "Russian analysis" of the Fascist counter-revolution and Russian theoretical explanation of the fact that Mussolini paradoxically espoused full Soviet participation at Lausanne on the morrow of his anti-Bolshevik victory will interest students of Russian communism as well as Italian diplomacy.

The analytical table of contents, the appendixes, the indexes of topics and names, and the format of the work are excellent.

Brandeis University

FRANK E. MANUEL

THE ORIGINS OF PRUSSIA. By *F. L. Carsten*, Lecturer in History, Westfield College, University of London. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. 309. \$4.80.)

THIS is a close scholarly study that leaves the reader divided between regret at the dryness of its report and the gratitude it inspires for its clarification of the development in the main socio-political areas of early Brandenburg-Prussia.

This means that we are given a richly documented story of the German conquest of the Slavs and Prussians and of the colonization of the conquered land by a German population in the three distinct streams of peasants, townsmen, and nobility. While the parallel and equal growth of these three constituent elements would have produced a roundly balanced society, this development never got under way and was rendered forever impossible when, in the fifteenth century, the nobles took up demesne farming, that is, forsook their medieval warrior habits and became a body of profit-seeking landlords. The transformation occurred when, owing to the rise in the price of foodstuffs in western Europe, they were confronted with a novel demand for the product of their fields.

There followed a productive drive among them which, continuing unchecked for some generations in Brandenburg, Pomerania, Prussia, in fact, throughout northeastern Europe, led, on the one hand, to the passionate desire on the part of the profiteers to enlarge their demesne lands by the appropriation of the neighboring peasant farms and, on the other hand, to the equally passionate desire to tie the peasants to the soil in the interest of an unfailing labor supply. By this double pressure the originally free peasants were gradually reduced to groveling serfs. If the electors of this period had still been in possession of their original authority they would not improbably have blocked the movement by which they themselves fell into dependence on the nobility. The rulers of this crucial century belonged to the Hohenzollern dynasty, which had been enfeoffed with Brandenburg in 1415. Compelled by the mounting expenditures of a new age to appeal to the *Landtag* for supplies, they faced the blank stare of a body completely dominated by the nobles. In the diet of 1537 a first compromise was reached, followed later by others of the same nature. The reigning elector, Joachim II, was voted the supplies he required in exchange for his solemn validation of the usurpations the landlords had effected directly against the peasants and indirectly against himself. When the Great Elector mounted the throne in 1640 he gradually evolved the plan of replacing the power of the *Landtag* in his various provinces with his own absolute power and to bring about this revolution by means of a standing army. The author records Frederick William's measures with the same cool detachment that characterized the earlier story. It is a method dear to our graduate schools and concentrates on the facts with an all but total disregard of the color, form, and zest which bring a personality to life.

Michigan City, Indiana

FERDINAND SCHEVILL

DIE ENTFESSELUNG DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES: EINE STUDIE
ÜBER DIE INTERNATIONALEN BEZIEHUNGEN IM SOMMER 1939.

By *Walther Hofer*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, München.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1954. Pp. 221. DM 6.80.)

CONTEMPORARY history has been rarely treated in German universities. There are still today very few scholarly works published on the Third Reich, its domestic

and foreign policy. The Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, which also publishes the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, edited by Hans Rothfels and Theodor Eschenburg, is making a serious effort to throw light on a period which, for various reasons, many Germans wish to keep either in darkness or in the more dangerous artificial light of legends. Walther Hofer, a young Swiss historian who is *Privatdozent* at the Free University in Berlin, presents the Germans with a penetrating analysis of the international relations in the summer of 1939. The conclusion of the book is contained in the title: Hofer speaks of "Entfesselung," not of "Ausbruch." The Second World War was unleashed by Hitler alone, but there remains the fundamental question of how it happened that Hitler succeeded in imposing his will upon a whole great nation and, with the help of that nation, in carrying through his intentions against the will of the whole world, including his ally Mussolini.

Hofer's well-documented story of the fateful weeks preceding the invasion of Poland makes it clear that even the highest ranking officials of the Reich like Generalfeldmarschall Göring had not the slightest influence on the Führer. Against his totalitarian claim of incarnating the nation and history rational criticism was impossible; one had either to trust blindly or to reject unconditionally. Hitler treated not only his potential enemies but even his official allies with utter contempt and disregard. Nor was he concerned with the fate of Germans. For the duration of his friendship pact with Poland he was as willing to abandon the German minority there as he had been to abandon the South Tyrolians to Mussolini and the Baltic Germans to Stalin. Everything was to him tactical means for the achievement of his strategic power goals.

Dr. Hofer shows convincingly the will to peace of the British, French, and Polish governments. Chamberlain's appeasement policy was sincere; it tried to accommodate the dynamism of the fascist nations and at the same time to restrain it within bounds set by treaties and the recognition of admissible methods. Such a policy might have worked against Italy; it could not work against Germany and its new diplomacy which called "negotiations among equals" what it would have called a ruthless "Diktat" if applied against Germany. Hitler concluded his pact with Stalin in order to be able to overrun Poland, and for the sake of a short-term success he destroyed the dikes which the treaty of Versailles had erected against the Bolshevik flood which nobody had denounced more strongly than Hitler. That the Soviet Union today occupies Berlin and Vienna, is the consequence of Hitler's policy.

Dr. Hofer rightly warns against the historians' efforts to try to find too great a rationality behind Hitler's motives. "When Hitler had selected a victim, then he concentrated with such energy on this one problem of how to destroy the victim that all other considerations were swept into the background." There are still many people in Germany who have kept some respect for at least some aspects of National Socialism and of Hitler. Dr. Hofer's insistence that crime and lie, madness and irresponsibility should be called by their true name, will be wel-

comed by every friend of German historiography which in the last century has too frequently subjected history to "idealistic" or "fatalistic" considerations. To gloss over the dark sides of history and to excuse them has led the German people to catastrophe.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE IM ÜBERBLICK: EIN HANDBUCH. Edited by *Peter Rassow*. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1953. Pp. 866.)

THIS handbook is no latter-day Gebhardt but a set of eighteen substantial essays on the major epochs of German history. The contributors, mostly men of the younger academic generation, speak as individuals. Still, there is a common tie that binds them—an outlook of moderate conservatism expressed with intelligence and responsibility. Most of them come to grips with the major falsifications and some emphases of Nazi historiography. A majority of the essays are more than condensed narratives and reflect an integrated philosophical or cultural approach to the subject. Although the volume is intended for a broader audience, and has sold well, there is no compromise with standards or pandering to popularity. It is good history.

The opening section of the work skips the racial glories of the Teutonic tribes, promptly enlarges upon significant aspects of German-Roman relations, and closes with a brilliant narrative on the emergence of a transitional Rhenish-Danubian culture in the third century. The medieval chapters are disappointing, for their main theme is lost in a welter of details on political intrigue and warfare. With the exception of Brunner's spirited essay on the late medieval Reich, there is a regrettable lack of emphasis upon the social, economic, and cultural developments of the Middle Ages. The Reformation is given competent but unimaginative treatment. The Counter-Reformation comes to colorful life in Brunner's pen and confirms the impression that this Austrian historian has enviable scope and depth. The story of German absolutism was bound to emphasize Prussia but appears overly Prussian in tone. Frederick the Great is presented with philosophical and psychological insight. Still, the tendency to deify him remains. One limitation is common to all these authors: the lack of significant and constructive observations on the relations of the Germans with their Slavic neighbors.

More than half of the *Handbuch* deals with German history since 1789. Erdmann's beautifully constructed essay on the Revolutionary era is almost more European than German history. The material on the Germanies from 1815 to 1851 is *gesamtdeutsch* in tone. No other period probably lends itself so successfully to this treatment; yet, the spirit of Srbik's *Deutsche Einheit* could be less evident. The Bismarckian age is exceptionally well handled by Kluge and Schieder, with strong emphasis upon economic and cultural trends. Their appraisal of Bismarck commands respect, though not necessarily full agreement. Quali-

fied approval of the Iron Chancellor stems from careful evaluation of his designs and achievements; criticism is rooted in an awareness of human frailty and a sense for tragedy. An impressive man remains, though the omniscient master is gone.

With all its caprices and contradictions the Wilhelmian era comes to life. Conze views the origins of World War I with circumspection and welcome de-emphasis of the strident *Kriegsschuldfrage* tone. His analysis of the Revolution and Weimar constitution is a model of succinct prose. The statement on the Versailles peace is bleak and factual. Pros and cons of the Weimar regime are set forth clearly, with full appreciation for the efforts of its leaders in the face of embittered hostility.

Professor Mau's essay on the rise of National Socialism spares not the *Reichswehr*, nor deluded conservatives, nor irresponsible nationalists. Unlike some recent German political autopsies, this one avoids rationalization and self-pity alike. The reasons for the success of the Nazi conspiracy, an incisive interpretation of the 1934 purge, and a superb characterization of the Third Reich in the war years compel particular interest. The German resistance movement, with all its failures and contradictions, is seen as speaking for the conscience of the nation and by its example remaining as a warning to future German generations. Some American conservatives could learn something from this essay, too.

The last chapter offers a detailed account of events in all the zones of occupied Germany to 1949 and is particularly valuable to Americans, for here German history becomes an indispensable part of our own. Few other narratives have so clearly indicated how early the pattern of Soviet postwar intentions was evident in its German aspect. Evidently the accident of intransigent French policy toward the Potsdam agreement during 1945-46, was a basic factor in preventing West Germany from slipping into the Soviet orbit and consequently saved the West from a political disaster.

Sixty pages of closely packed bibliography and an excellent index conclude this attractively published volume. The bibliography builds upon the 1931 edition of Dahlmann-Waitz. Space certainly forbade annotation, but the result is sometimes a mixture of many good titles, some less qualified sources, and a few items with a clear Nazi taint. A number of essential studies in English are included, though many are lacking; but it is a real innovation that so many such sources are indicated. It is the effort that counts.

One concluding comment indicates a continuing dilemma that faces the German historian: shall he write the history of a state or of a people? The several contributors deal with the German and Austrian aspects of their subject reasonably well until 1852. Thereafter the story of the Austrian-Germans is rapidly reduced to interspersed notes and disappears completely in the last essay. Such a treatment is not entirely satisfactory and leaves an essential problem of German history unresolved.

Pomona College

HENRY CORD MEYER

GERMAN HISTORY: SOME NEW GERMAN VIEWS. Edited by *Hans Kohn*, Professor of History, City College of New York. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1954. Pp. 224. \$4.00.)

In his own contributions to this book, Professor Kohn asks the crucial question whether or not the reappraisal of German history in progress among German historians will help to establish democracy. He sees in the older German historiography a valuable guide to the currents which swayed men's minds and moved events toward authoritarian rule. Professor Kohn refrains from a definite prediction, but he provides the basis for the reader to draw his own conclusions in the essays assembled here. Except for Professor Hajo Holborn and Dr. Walther Hofer, who are both outsiders to a certain extent, the authors are German historians, including the late Friedrich Meinecke and Franz Schnabel, addressing primarily the German audience. As to their sincerity and good intentions, there is no possible doubt, but the eventual success of this new revisionist movement is another matter. A useful bibliography concludes the book.

Only in a great national catastrophe like Germany's in 1945 could the effort to change the essentials of the cherished picture of a nation's past have even a chance of success. These historians challenge the most fundamental value—judgments of their most honored predecessors, notably Ranke and Treitschke, in regard to the movements and personalities, notably Bismarck, which created the great Germany of the nineteenth century. They explain the German tragedy by the increasing alienation from Western civilization, and they attribute this fateful separation in part to the sanction which German historians gave to the exaltation of the state and its power, to their acceptance of militarism and war, and to their neglect of social and cultural history in favor of politics and diplomacy. Bismarck, in their view, stifled promising democratic forces, although Schnabel, for whom federalism is Germany's best hope, regards the National Liberals as not less dangerous. In the myth of the uniqueness of the German character, the product of romanticism and historicism, these writers discern a more fundamental cause. Hofer pinpoints this matter more precisely in the prevailing feeling that Germany was the victim of circumstances which justified extraordinary measures.

These writers regard Gerhard Ritter, who seeks to salvage as much as possible from the debacle, as their principal opponent. In trying to shift the responsibility for modern mass movements and therefore for Hitler to the West, because of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, Ritter is extremely vulnerable. The revisionists, admirable as much of their criticism and their intentions may be, are themselves vulnerable in their disregard of realities. It is little short of the fantastic to think it possible to shift the center of German life from the industrial north to the agricultural southwest. In view of the problem of East Germany, including the Oder-Neisse line, as well as of Germany's inescapable position

between the East and West, their depreciation of the state, power politics, and nationalism does not promise well for their success.

Duke University

E. MALCOLM CARROLL

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING GERMANY. By *Robert H. Lowie*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 396. \$6.00.)

"THIS book," its author explains, "deals with the social psychology of the 'Germans' during the last two centuries." In defining the term "Germans" he applies linguistic rather than racial or political criteria, so that Austria and Switzerland, as well as Germany, are included. The main emphasis, however, is on Germany, with only occasional glances across the frontiers. Professor Lowie, a well-known cultural anthropologist, bases his study on six months' field work in the above countries, supplemented by library research. He makes use of many lesser-known sources and his rewarding use of literary works as avenues to German social history deserves special praise. The bibliography of secondary works is substantial, though it shows some surprising gaps: there is no mention, for instance, of the important work done on this subject by Fromm, Horkheimer, or Schaffner.

As for the general thesis of the work: "It is my conviction," Mr. Lowie states, "that much of what is popularly conceived as German is in reality either generically human or occidental or Continental European." To prove his point, he has singled out for treatment: particularism, the class structure, the family, the Jewish question, and the relation of Germans to Nazism and to democracy. Among these, he finds as the only "highly distinctive" German feature the marked class distinctions prevalent in German society. As for the remaining points: "German attitudes toward particularism and nationalism are not unique"; nor are survivals of patriarchalism in the German family any more numerous than in most other European countries. German anti-Semitism, according to Professor Lowie, "viewed comparatively . . . loses its unique character, except in so far as every phenomenon in the universe has some individual features." In the briefest of his sections, "The Germans and Democracy," he stresses the fact that many Germans joined the Nazi movement from idealistic motives and then found it impossible to leave. As for democracy, the author says: "I consider it possible—I shall not put it more strongly—that Germans will achieve democracy of a sort, not through alien imposition, but by the democratic faith of its working class and an as yet only moderately large group of intellectuals."

As may be gathered from this brief survey, Professor Lowie takes issue with or tries to refute many of the more commonly held generalizations about the Germans. He does so with a genuine effort at objectivity and with an impressive array of interesting material. To this reviewer, however, the evidence presented is not always sufficient to warrant the above conclusions. As a corrective to some of the more one-sided and oversimplified treatments of the "German Problem," this book

can serve a useful purpose, and as such its modest title is well chosen. But at the same time by denying that Germany differs in any fundamental respect from other Continental powers, the book may tend to discourage the hopeful efforts among some German intellectuals at understanding and thus bridging the gap between Germany and the West, a gap of which the historian is probably more aware than the anthropologist.

Johns Hopkins University

HANS W. GATZKE

NORGE I BRENNPUNKTET: FRA FORHISTORIEN TIL 9. APRIL 1940.
Bind I, HANDELSKRIGEN 1939-40. By Nils Ørvik. (Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum Forlag for Den Krigshistoriske Avdeling. 1953. Pp. 384.)

WHAT is intended to be the definitive history of the Norwegian phase of World War II is now being published by Johan Grundt Tanum in Oslo and will upon completion comprise no less than twenty volumes. To this huge work will be added two introductory volumes by Dr. Nils Ørvik on Norwegian policy during the so-called "phony war"; one of these will deal with the political and military aspects, while the other one, published last year under the above title, is devoted to Norwegian shipping and trade policies during the same period. The author, a young Norwegian political scientist, received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin and has published a valuable study entitled *The Decline of Neutrality, 1914-1941*.

The opening chapters of the present work discuss the plans formulated by Norwegian governments of the interwar period to make the country as self-sufficient as possible in a general war. The body of the book, however, is a succinct account of what actually was done during the months of Norway's neutrality. Tripartite negotiations were begun by the Norwegian Department of Foreign Affairs, first with the British government about the use of the large Norwegian merchant marine in Allied trade and transport, again with Great Britain about Norwegian-British and Norwegian-German trade, and lastly, between Norway and Germany about the continuation of their trade in wartime.

The Norwegian government, sympathizing with the Allied cause, did not wish to prevent the British from securing control of a major portion of the Norwegian merchant fleet, but it was far from averse to the idea that it might be able to obtain a more satisfactory trade agreement by using the fleet as a lever in the bargaining process; the way had already been prepared through emergency legislation transferring the fleet from the control of the private owners to the Norwegian government. A tonnage agreement with England was signed as early as November 11, 1939, while workable compromises were still being sought whereby Norway would be allowed to continue her vital trade with both sides. Agreements were finally entered into with Germany on February 20, 1940, and with Great Britain on March 11, 1940, of which the latter, in spite of some hard bargaining in the beginning, gave the Norwegians surprisingly favorable terms.

There is no doubt that these negotiations and agreements demonstrated the fervent hope of the Norwegian government that both Germany and England would gain so much by Norway's neutral status that it might be maintained indefinitely. The British leniency, on the other hand, was occasioned, in Dr. Ørvik's opinion, by the Finnish-Russian War and the British plans for intervention.

The author contends that the Germans in January-February, 1940, contemplated using the Norwegian-British tonnage agreement as an excuse for their imminent invasion of Norway; they were, of course, later furnished with a considerably better pretext by the British mine-laying in Norwegian territorial waters. The claim is also made by the author that Germany had obtained such a favorable trade agreement with Norway on February 20 that she was fully compensated for the British control of Norwegian ships. This statement does seem, at least to the present reviewer, highly questionable.

Dr. Ørvik has based his work primarily on Norwegian official and private archives, as well as correspondence and conversations with many of the principals; it is regrettable that he has not been able to consult relevant British documents and other sources, although he has used material found in W. N. Medlicott's *The Economic Blockade*. Dr. Ørvik's detailed and objective résumé of the shipping and trade negotiations, however, conveys a real sense of the dilemma of a small neutral and gives the reader fresh insight into the problems attendant to the maintenance of neutrality. The solid and realistic appraisal of men and events, which characterizes this book, makes it a substantial contribution to the literature on recent Norwegian history and on economic warfare during the last war.

American-Scandinavian Foundation

ERIK J. FRIIS

THE RISE OF THE BALTIC QUESTION. By *Walther Kirchner*. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, Number Three.] (Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 283.)

THE omnipresent Baltic Question, as Professor Kirchner defines it, has continually exerted an influence on European history. Three significant modern crisis eras (1557-1582, 1701-1721, 1917-1919) are easily marked, the first of which has been chosen by Professor Kirchner, who concludes that it shaped and influenced the others directly and disastrously. Regionally the Baltic Question applies to the area between the old border of Lithuania and Latvia, northward to the Estonian Soviet frontier, and east vaguely into Russia as far as Knights could push it and vicissitudes permitted. Some million and a half inhabitants and four sizable and commercially important cities were within this area. Commerce centered either in Riga or Reval, with the former having the greater share of East Baltic trade, but in the sixteenth century no trade could enable the Knights to develop strengths either in leadership, economy, or politics to defend themselves against rapacious and lusty rivals. Thus Denmark, Poland, Sweden, and Russia contested for pos-

session, and the Empire, France, England, and the Dutch were eagerly interested spectators. But the importance of the sixteenth-century era of crisis applies mainly to nascent powers whose strengths were not quite great enough for Baltic hegemony, and who pillaged and ravaged more than they possessed.

Diplomatic intricacies of the Baltic Question have long needed exploration and Professor Kirchner, with his linguistic abilities, makes profitable use of printed and manuscript sources from a variety of origins: Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Polish, Russian, and French. Sources from the Danish and Swedish archives are especially significant, both for delineation of policies of these two powers and for East-West relations. In some few instances, however, citations to these documents might have been clearer (cf. p. 128, n. 17; p. 132, n. 30, etc.) and Ingvar Andersson's splendid biography of Erik XIV might have been used more profitably. Other points of criticism are likewise minute. Why, for example, stress Archangel's importance as a sea route to Russia early in the book only to correct this misinterpretation on pages 249-51?

Minute criticisms do not detract from the monograph's real value. Professor Kirchner has stressed what needed emphasis and has focused our attention on an exceedingly important European "trouble spot." Of appendix, index, and bibliography only critical approval can be given.

Occidental College

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

CHALLENGE IN EASTERN EUROPE: TWELVE ESSAYS. Edited by C. E. Black. Foreword by Joseph C. Grew. [Prepared under the Auspices of the Mid-European Studies Center of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.] (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xviii, 276. \$4.00.)

THE tens of millions of people who live east of the Stettin-Trieste line are still for most of the West, as for the late Neville Chamberlain, "people of whom we know nothing." The purpose of this book is evidently to reduce this deficiency as well as to contribute to scholarship. The authors, almost every one of whom either is a former national of some eastern European country or has studied one of these countries more intensively than its neighbors, have nevertheless taken a common subject matter and have divided it topically, with the guidance of the editor. In this manner each writer contributes his particular insights without losing perspective. Of course each reader will have his own views on the symposium type of volume, but this one approaches a high standard.

The book begins and ends with an essay by the editor. Professor Black first interprets the main features of recent East European history, ending with a challenge to the exiles for positive leadership for the future. Hubert Ripka (Czechoslovak) defends the liberal tradition in East Europe. Professor Arnold J. Zurcher, without confining his essay to the region, deals ably with the reasons for Fascist and Communist accession to power. Former Prime Minister Mikolajczyk

of Poland discusses the meaning of "people's democracy" in propaganda and practice, and includes a useful caution about policy toward Tito. Ladislav Feierabend (Czechoslovak) writes on "Land Reform and Agricultural Improvement." Branko M. Peselj (Hungarian) outlines "Peasantism: Its Ideology and Achievements." Professor Geza Teleki (Hungarian) explains the industrial and cultural policies of interwar governments; Jan H. Wszelaki (Polish) sketches those policies of postwar Communist governments. Professor Henry L. Roberts carefully interprets interwar international relations, avoiding the twin pitfalls of what he terms the "Popular Frontist" and the "Retrospective Vindicationist" views. Jacob B. Hoptner presents a sound analysis of the treaty system of the Soviet orbit within a broader context. Professor Karl W. Deutsch surveys the factors which have given us the epithet "balkanization" and discusses prospects for a future regional federation. Professor Black's closing essay comments on "containment" and "liberation" as they relate to East Europe. He also poses the challenge with which the title is concerned, which is one to the American people to undertake a more informed and dynamic foreign policy across the Iron Curtain.

Since the longest essay is only twenty-five pages, there is not room to develop themes fully, and this fact may also have contributed to the cramped and jerky style of more than one section.

It would be profitable to discuss at length a number of individual issues raised in this volume. Here it may only be remarked that the lightning blows of the recent past lie heavy on the shoulders of several of the authors. A few have sketched reasonable pictures of what things still may be like; fewer indicate upon what social and cultural foundations the desired changes might build. In this connection Dr. Peselj's essay, though not the most polished of the twelve, deserves special praise. However brilliant may be our diplomacy or propaganda, they are unlikely to make the fullest impact unless they take into account the attitudes and aspirations of the peasants of East Europe.

University of Washington

DONALD W. TREADGOLD

THE PROPHET ARMED: TROTSKY, 1879-1921. By *Isaac Deutscher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 540. \$6.00.)

HAVING produced a biography of Stalin, Mr. Deutscher is now engaged in preparing a two-volume study of Trotsky, after which he promises to do a life of Lenin. The task he has set himself is less formidable than it might seem, for one cannot sketch the life of any one of these men without amassing a fund of knowledge about the other two, so closely entwined were their public careers.

The first volume on Trotsky, carrying him to the pinnacle of his fortunes and foreshadowing, in the final chapter, his descent to a bloody grave, is a well-informed, well-organized, and exceptionally well-written book. The author has proceeded in easy chronological fashion, keeping just the right balance between Trotsky's personality, his thought, and his actions, so that the reader is continually

refreshed and never bored. One can see that a professional has written this book, and not a professor. Deutscher's characterizations are excellent, his analyses frequently so, and there are passages conceived and executed in the grand historical style.

An effort to restore Trotsky's fame is unnecessary as far as the specialist is concerned, and yet it is needed, after the prodigious efforts of the Stalinist school of distortion. Trotsky comes rehabilitated from Deutscher's hands though not whitewashed by any means. The attributes are developed on the wings of which he soared to greatness, but also the foibles and weaknesses that dragged him back to earth. Such are his sympathies with his subject, however, that Deutscher deals sadly with Trotsky's shortcomings and strives to round off the harsh and angular features of his character. He cannot bring himself to admit what he knows very well: that Trotsky, for all his versatile genius, was a child compared to Machiavelli in his understanding of human affairs.

Few errors and only one big distortion appear in this careful study. The Vyborg Manifesto followed the dissolution of the first, not the second, Duma, and the Mensheviks could not have polled half the votes in the Petersburg election of May, 1917, for the simple reason that they had a joint ticket with the Social Revolutionaries. Other errors must be attributed to prejudice rather than to oversight. Within the circle of his sympathies, Deutscher is strictly objective. But when he steps outside that circle to deal with the opponents of the October Revolution, his objectivity is strained and sometimes collapses. In his treatment of the extinction of the Menshevik republic of Georgia and the suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion, he is more the subtle propagandist than the historian. And in some of his references to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, not to speak of the Constitutional Democrats, the tsar, the Duma, and Witte, there is scarcely a pretense of objectivity. (Illustrations can not be given here for lack of space.)

A scholar with Marxist leanings invariably stumbles when he comes to the agrarian problem. Deutscher is no exception. In his narrative the problem does not receive its due weight nor does it appear in its true light. He gives only the surface reasons for measures taken against the peasantry, while ignoring the deeper-lying Bolshevik strategy of splitting and paralyzing the allied class in order to leave the proletariat (or its vanguard) with a monopoly of political power. He prefers to seek the cause of the drying up of the wells of Soviet democracy in the identification of the party with the state (p. 336) or in some other derivative phenomenon instead of in the simple circumstance that a minority serving solely the proletariat had seized control of a great agrarian country and could maintain itself in power only by a resort to terrorism or by renouncing the Byzantine rigidity of its dogma and espousing the cause of the peasantry as well as the proletariat. Deutscher's hero was as little willing as other Bolsheviks to follow the second course, and so he died in a distant land with a pick-axe in his brain.

While the author does not represent Trotsky as the friend of the peasantry,

and repeats his prophetic analysis of the helplessness of that class, he does conceal the depths of his subject's antagonism for the independent tiller of the soil. When Stalin depicted Trotsky as the enemy of the peasantry, he for once was not lying. He lied only when he depicted himself as their friend. And nothing in Deutscher's forthcoming and final volume on Trotsky will be more interesting than what he says, or fails to say, about what went on in Trotsky's mind as he sat in exile and watched Stalin do to the peasants everything that he, Trotsky, had only intended to do.

Hoover Library

OLIVER HENRY RADKEY

THE DYNAMICS OF SOVIET SOCIETY. By *W. W. Rostow*, in Collaboration with Alfred Levin, and with the assistance of others at the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1953. Pp. xvi, 282. \$3.95.)

HOW RUSSIA IS RULED. By *Merle Fainsod*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 11.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 575. \$7.50.)

A STUDY OF BOLSHEVISM. By *Nathan Leites*, Social Science Research Staff, The Rand Corporation. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1953. Pp. 639. \$6.50.)

THESE three studies examine political power in the Soviet Union as viewed and developed by the Bolsheviks, to the end of clearer guidance of American policy toward the Soviet Union. Each differs, however, in emphasis and approach. Though none is intended as a history, each utilizes historical data and seeks to find an understanding of present-day Soviet politics in the history of Russia and Bolshevism.

An economic historian, not a Russian specialist, and thus an uncommitted outsider, Mr. Rostow was asked by the Center for International Studies to summarize and integrate the findings of a large number of specialists on Russia. His interpretation is one which the specialists characterize as "a useful approximation," ably done. I concur.

In depicting how the various parts of Soviet society have moved in relation to one another Mr. Rostow deals primarily with the elements of political power in the Soviet Union and their interaction with nonpolitical factors rather than with the interaction on each other of all dynamic elements in Soviet society. He poses two questions: (1) What determines Soviet policy at home and abroad? (2) What are the prospects for change in Soviet society? The crux of his answer to the first question is the overriding importance to the Bolsheviks of the preservation and maximizing of their political power. Their crucial decisions, whether in retreat or advance, have always given priority to the short-run considerations of retention of power rather than to the long-run objectives of Marxian ideology and the proletarian revolution. The second question he can answer less surely, but he does see prospects of change: a major upheaval if the Soviet leadership can not

solve the succession problem; minor modifications toward widening areas of autonomy and policy formulation for the branches of the bureaucracy if the succession problem is contained.

Mr. Fainsod covers much the same territory as does Mr. Rostow and more, and in considerably more detail. His aim is "to analyze the physiology, as well as the anatomy, of Soviet totalitarianism and to communicate a sense of the living political processes in which the Soviet rulers and subjects are enmeshed." He begins with a historical analysis of the forces and factors that produced the Bolshevik revolution and transformed its character once power had been achieved. He then turns to the structure and role of the party in theory and practice. His exposition becomes in effect a documentation of Trotsky's classic observation in 1904 that in Lenin's view "the organization of the Party takes the place of the Party itself; the Central Committee takes the place of the organization; and finally the dictator takes the place of the Central Committee." Mr. Fainsod makes clear that the present totalitarian regime in Russia stems almost inevitably from Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and from his decisions of 1917 and after. Stalin did not distort Lenin's revolution; he carried it to its logical conclusion, ruthlessly and masterfully. The book next examines the other instruments of rule—the Constitution and hierarchy of Soviets, the bureaucracy, the police, and the armed forces. The last part deals with the impact of Soviet controls on factory and farm, the tensions they create, and concludes with an appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet system.

Impressed more by the practice than the theory of the Soviet power scheme and concerned with its evolution, Mr. Fainsod makes his study less of a schematic description of the Soviet political structure than do Harper and Thompson and Towster in their earlier studies. Moreover, he had the opportunity of drawing upon the wealth of material derived from careful interviewing of Soviet refugees. This study, solid and highly competent, should take its place, if it has not already done so, as a leading work in its field.

Mr. Leites attempts to portray that aspect of the spirit of the Bolshevik elite which constitutes its conceptions of political strategy, its operational code. He confines himself, however, to an analysis of doctrine, which analysis he restricts in turn primarily to the entire recorded verbal production of Lenin and Stalin—this to the end of more accurate prediction of Politburo behavior. Judging by the numerous qualifications he attaches to his method and to his conclusions, one must conclude that he found himself with a difficult task.

Through some twenty chapters he notes the many facets of thought and attitude which can be said to embody the Bolshevik operational code. His presentation is essentially enumerative, which makes for choppy reading and difficulty in sustaining interest. Quotations occupy as much space as his text. Though the ratio of effort to results seems unusually high, it must be conceded that Mr. Leites has produced additional insight into the outlook and mental processes of the Bolshevik leadership. This is most clearly seen in his introductory chapter on

the Politburo and the West. Perhaps the fairest judgment of this book is to say that it pioneered its way across a broad desert only to find something less than the Garden of Eden on the other side.

University of California, Los Angeles

RAYMOND H. FISHER

Far Eastern History

THE MEN WHO RULED INDIA: THE FOUNDERS OF MODERN INDIA.

By *Philip Woodruff*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. 402. \$5.00.)

THIS is a remarkable and delightful book, remarkable because of the extraordinary insight with which a complex and controversial subject is treated, delightful because of a felicitous and lively style which makes it a pleasure to read. Mr. Woodruff's colleagues among the retired members of the Indian Civil Service are indeed to be congratulated on their choice of a historian of the Indian services; the second volume, to be entitled *The Guardians*, carrying the story from 1858 to 1947, will be eagerly awaited. Mr. Woodruff's method is biographical, and not the least of its merits is the bringing forth from obscurity of many British administrators in India who have long deserved a better fate. Among these are: Henry Verelst, "the first of the district officers and the first of the revenue officers" as political empire began (p. 119); Jonathan Duncan, humanitarian, incorruptible governor of Bombay for sixteen years, 1795-1811; Robert Bird, who struggled for seven years, 1833-1840, to define the property rights of 23,000,000 people in the then Northwest Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) recording "the separate possession, rights, privileges, and liabilities of the members of those communities who hold their land in severalty, and the several interests of those who hold their land in common" (p. 296); and Herbert Edwardes, who tamed Wazir and Bannuchi alike and brought peace and order in the late 1840's to a turbulent part of the Punjab. Beyond these, we have new, fresh, and informed judgments on the great figures of Anglo-Indian history from the days of William Hawkins to those of the Lawrences. Yet the book is no mere series of biographical sketches. It is a thoughtful assessment of the British connection with India, illumined by these human stories. The flag is not blatantly waved, and Indian readers who do not respond to the author's profound knowledge of India and his care not to ignore the seamier side of the story while naturally emphasizing the good will surely be few.

The discussion of the Mutiny is especially notable. The story is told with much feeling, but with every attempt to be objective and to gloss over none of its unpleasant aspects. Rather, however, than dwell on the "savagery on both sides," Mr. Woodruff seeks to throw further light on the whole episode. He has carefully investigated the possibility that many army officers were attempting to convert the sepoy to Christianity. He concludes that there was more of this than

previous writers on the subject have realized. Reflecting upon his own experience as a district officer, he feels that students of the Mutiny have overlooked the most serious consequence of Dalhousie's annexation of Oudh in 1856. As long as Oudh was a princely state, sepoys recruited from Oudh could have their grievances, whether justifiable or not, directly redressed by the British Resident, who simply told the Oudh minister concerned to grant a sepoy's request. Once Oudh was annexed, the Oudh sepoys, who formed the most important element in the Bengal Army, had to lay their grievances before British district officers in their home districts who were obliged to investigate thoroughly before granting such petitions. Likewise out of the author's administrative experience comes the clearest brief exposition of the conditions under which land has been held in India, and of Indian revenue systems, Mogul as well as British, which has come to this reviewer's attention.

Mistakes in fact in Mr. Woodruff's work, such as the attribution of too saintly a character to Charles Grant (p. 179), are extraordinarily few. His touch is naturally less sure on those aspects of his theme which are not close to his own background and experience. He pays little or no attention to aspects of modern Indian and British economic history which lie behind so many of these colorful and vivid careers. One might sometimes think that in paternalism and trusteeship lies the full explanation of British activity in India. The economic revolution in the relationship between Britain and India in the period 1760-1840 is hardly mentioned. However, it was not Mr. Woodruff's purpose to cover this side of the story. He is raising an enduring monument to a small and gallant company, seldom over a thousand strong at any one time, who administered modern India until 1947.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

TRADE AND DIPLOMACY ON THE CHINA COAST: THE OPENING OF THE TREATY PORTS, 1842-1854. In two volumes. By *John King Fairbank*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volumes LXII, LXIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xiii, 489; 88. \$7.50).

LIKE most of Fairbank's scholarly works, this study and its separate volume of notes and data are solid additions to the edifice of Western historical scholarship on China. Over the past twenty years the author has worked in Chinese, Japanese, and Western sources to piece together one of the most intricate puzzles in modern history. Fairbank has shown concretely in this study, more than in any other work that comes to mind, how the Western and Chinese traditions merged to produce the treaty-port arrangements finally completed *ca.* 1860. In the past this story has been told almost exclusively from Western sources.

The first section, dealing with "China's unpreparedness for Western contact," is both the most stimulating and most controversial part of the work. In setting the problem of China's "response to the West," the author stresses the importance

of understanding "the traditional role of the barbarian in Chinese society" (p. 7). To those acquainted with Fairbank's earlier essays, this is not an unexpected theme.

The author's description of the eclipse of tribute by trade in the Ch'ing era is one of his pithiest sections. His absorption with the so-called Manchu-Chinese "dyarchy" seems to the reviewer less fruitful and infinitely more questionable. The distinctions drawn between the Chinese and Manchu hierarchies certainly are valid; to contend, however, that there was "no use in any measure which might benefit the country but destroy the dynasty" (p. 42) is to make the break between the Chinese and the dynasty overly sharp and antagonistic. I would, however, subscribe to his more moderate statement that Manchu foreign policy "was strongly colored by the fact that the Manchu empire embraced a good deal more than China proper" (p. 42).

The section devoted to the first treaty settlement is a masterly assessment and synthesis of numerous older and more recent Western and Oriental monographs. Both in this section and in those that follow, the role of the opium trade is carefully sketched and related to the legitimate enterprises of the Westerners and the Chinese. The designation of Ch'i-ying's policy of barbarian-management as "appeasement" (chap. vii) is somewhat out of harmony with the author's more judicious statement that "his [Ch'i-ying's] aim was to fit the novel relations with Britain into the orthodox framework of the Chinese imperial system" (p. 105). Fairbank, unlike many who have written on the subject before, faces squarely the opium problem in all its ramifications, and concludes that the failure to legalize the traffic in 1843 "split the foreign trade of China into two parts, legal and illegal" (p. 151). In the following chapters on the inter-treaty period he is able to illustrate repeatedly how this indecisive settlement contributed to the growth of friction.

The story, complex as it was before 1845, became even more involved with the steady deterioration of Manchu authority and the outbreak at mid-century of domestic revolt. Fairbank shows clearly the role of the Chinese (especially the Cantonese) in helping the foreigners break into the coastal interport trade. He relates the growth of piracy to domestic unrest, and the spread of domestic unrest to the foreign trade. Peking's ineptness, as well as the ambitions of the foreign traders, entered into the gradual "Cantonization" of the trade at Shanghai, and this, in turn, contributed to the imperial government's inability to manage the Taiping rebels. Out of this chaos Fairbank shows how the foreign inspectorate of customs painfully emerged in 1854 as part of a general solution "which gave special privileges to all foreign nations in China and yet . . . stopped short of the dismemberment or actual foreign administration of the country" (p. 371).

The conclusion seeks to depict in general the Chinese view of the treaty system. Fairbank suggests that for China it "supplanted the tribute system as a device for incorporating the foreigner into the universal [Chinese] state" (p. 465). So viewed, the treaty-port system becomes the joint creation of China and the

Western powers, even though matters, both Chinese and foreign, soon got beyond the control of Peking.

University of Chicago

DONALD F. LACH

THE DUTCH COLONIAL SYSTEM IN THE EAST INDIES. By J. J. van Klaveren, Lecturer of Economics, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. (The Hague: the Author, Van Nijenrodestraat 88. 1953. Pp. 212. \$4.00.)

THIS book is essentially a description of Dutch economic policy in Indonesia, and especially of agrarian policy, from the period of the Dutch East India Company to the outbreak of the Second World War. The author follows a chronological approach, with the result that basic and recurring economic problems in Indonesia, such as the question of rural indebtedness, factors making for low productivity and population pressure, often do not receive detailed consideration. Moreover, the analysis of Dutch policies in the last fifty years is scanty compared to the extensive description given to the efforts at a reform of agrarian production in the years 1818-1870. The chief value of the book lies precisely in its treatment of policy in these early decades of the nineteenth century (chapters XII through XVI), a merit which is the greater because the English-speaking student has only a few, and then often inadequate, studies of these years in Dutch-Indonesian relations at his disposal.

Unfortunately Mr. van Klaveren's study is marred by errors in interpretation and in fact, by highly debatable subjective assertions, and by an apparent unfamiliarity with standard studies dealing with the detailed ramifications of his subject, an unfamiliarity which often invalidates his conclusions. For example, notwithstanding the increasing popularity among Indonesian scholars of the work and views of J. C. van Leur, the author still tells us that the Hinduization of Indonesia "was brought about by merchants and colonists" (p. 16), a theory which van Leur and his followers have pretty well exploded. On page 20 and again on page 195 the author informs us that only on a domanial system of land tenure could a structure of feudalism arise and that the Indonesian empires on the islands beyond Java lacked a territorial foundation. These assertions betray a rather grievous lack of knowledge of the ethnology of indigenous Indonesian cultures. Mr. van Klaveren holds that the economy of the islands beyond Java was "mercantile and mobile, a real money economy." In contrast Java had a "more natural economy" (p. 174). Such generalizations are dangerously misleading, for they ignore the overwhelmingly greater area of the islands beyond Java with a non- or undeveloped money economy, the far more intensive penetration of money economy in Java, as the island that was first occupied and most fully developed by the Dutch, and the danger of selecting money, in a given economy, as opposed to an economy based on *natura*, as a criterion of distinctive economic spheres in Indonesia.

Further examples of inadequate information and statements showing a lack

of historical perspective could be made concerning Mr. van Klaveren's work if space permitted. Suffice it to say that the bibliography is at best spotty, even for those phases of agrarian policy to which the author evidently has given the greatest attention. He has, for instance, ignored the valuable works by Platteel, Knibbe, Oranje, Boon, Zwart, and many others who have specialized in the nineteenth-century period of colonial Indonesia. Mention is made of Fischer's views on voluntary birth control, but the cogent criticisms of Fischer's views by van der Leeden are lacking; nor has the author tapped the immense riches in such periodicals as *Koloniale Studien*, *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* and the more recent *Indonesië*.

Michigan State College

JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1936. In five volumes. Volume IV, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 5404.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1954. Pp. xci, 1012. \$4.50.)

APART from a few items concerning the proposed revision of the 1920 treaty of friendship and commerce between the United States and Siam, the rest of the diplomatic papers in this volume all relate to the Far Eastern crisis (pp. 1-458) and miscellaneous topics concerning China (pp. 459-705) and Japan (pp. 706-993). The papers dealing with the Far Eastern crisis are presented in chronological order; the others are grouped under fourteen topics for China and nine for Japan. An index, which like those of preceding years is not entirely satisfactory, completes the volume.

The greatest interest naturally attaches to those papers dealing with the Far Eastern crisis, and particularly with the gathering clouds of the war which was to break out in the following year. In the very first paper of the collection, a dispatch of January 6 from the chairman of the American delegation to the London Naval Conference to the Secretary of State, the British Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Robert Leslie Craigie, is quoted as saying that China and Japan were actively engaged in negotiating a nonaggression pact and that it seemed probable such an agreement would be reached in the near future. Three days later, in reply to an inquiry from Cordell Hull on this matter, our ambassador in China, Nelson T. Johnson, said he had heard no hint of any proposal for a nonaggression pact and expressed himself as "extremely doubtful that the Sino-Japanese controversy can be reduced to such a simple formula as that suggested by Craigie."

Johnson's reply countering Craigie's estimate of Sino-Japanese relations is typical of the generally excellent diplomatic reporting of what was once a corps of able foreign service officers in China. To be sure there is nothing particularly new in the volume as a whole, for the substance of what is reported here was also reported in the press and the academic journals of the time. This detracts nothing

ing from the credit due to the diplomatic officials. It adds, rather, to the stature of the now-decimated body of journalists and scholars who devoted their attention to the Far East in the thirties.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN DE FRANCIS

ZAIBATSU DISSOLUTION IN JAPAN. By *T. A. Bisson*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 314. \$5.00.)

THIS is a careful analysis of one of the major reforms of the American occupation of Japan: the reduction of the inordinate economic power concentrated in a few industrial and banking combinations and the substitution of "a competitive, private enterprise economy." Drawing on first-hand experience in the occupation and his past studies of Japan's economy, Mr. Bisson surveys comprehensively the published records (nine key documents are included as appendixes) of this important phase of the occupation. The resulting account is clearly written, well documented, and balanced in analysis.

The *zaibatsu*, the giant economic combines which have been the dominant feature of Japan's economic life since its development as a modern state, were tagged for dissolution and deconcentration for their unduly monopolistic position and their association with the military expansion of Japan. After a brief statement of the guiding principles of the occupation's economic reforms and a succinct description of the evolution and complex nature of the *zaibatsu*, Mr. Bisson weighs the alternative plans which might have been pursued in accomplishing the desired end. Although the author favors the case for nationalizing Japan's key industries over the dissolution program finally adopted, he admits that "given the controlling American influence in the occupation, no other decision on economic reorganization in Japan could have been expected."

Mr. Bisson's answer to the question, Did the effort to dissolve and deconcentrate the *zaibatsu* succeed? is gloomy indeed. The major portion of this attractively printed book is an analysis of the steps taken in the surgical operation on the monopoly situation. Of the four important measures taken to dissolve the holding companies and redistribute the stock ownership, deconcentrate the massive combine subsidiaries, purge the personnel of the *zaibatsu* monopolies, and enact legislation raising barriers against the return of the old system, only the first and part of the second, the author concludes, achieved any substantial success. Indeed, the "massive process of reconcentration" in the last few years has led him to the conclusion that only the "legal restrictions against the holding company represented in 1952 the final obstacle to an outright reconstitution of the combines." The watering down of economic reforms was undoubtedly a by-product of the United States's revaluation of the world situation in the face of the communist menace in Europe and Asia. This reappraisal gave Japan a role in the "cold war" which required its economic integration to be conserved and a limit placed

on decentralization. This primary cause for braking the economic reforms has not been neglected by Mr. Bisson but it needs greater emphasis.

It is important that the occupation of Japan be subjected to more careful scrutiny with greater historical perspective. A variety of general evaluations have already been attempted but the definitive account remains to be written. Evaluations focused on the promise and goals of the occupation have generally been pessimistic about the performance whereas reports focused on what could reasonably have been expected under the historical circumstances tend to be cautiously optimistic. General accounts will improve, however, only as more detailed studies of limited aspects of the occupation are produced. Mr. Bisson has made a major contribution in this direction.

Northwestern University

ROGER F. HACKETT

American History

HARVARD GUIDE TO AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Oscar Handlin, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Samuel Eliot Morison, Frederick Merk, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., and Paul Herman Buck*. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 689. \$10.00.)

SEVENTEEN years behind schedule, the slow freight at last pulls into the switch yard with three members of the original crew and as many recruits picked up along the way. Early or late, the student will be glad of its arrival. Organized along the general style of its predecessor but about twice as large, the *Harvard Guide* also has a wider coverage than the Channing, Hart, and Turner *Guide* of 1912, particularly in the inclusion of materials relating to social and intellectual history. This is enough praise for any bibliography.

The student, though fully aware of the high degree of selectivity and condensation required in the compilation of the manual, still may find himself amazed both at what is included and what is excluded. For instance, I was a little puzzled at finding in the index under "Labor: . . . farm," a reference only to the period of the New Deal; and on page 211 under works on special subjects, agriculture, nothing for the period since 1860 except books on cattle and tobacco. But, on the other hand, I was pleased to find many further references to agriculture in later pages.

The first 246 pages comprise five chapters, including sixty-six essays dealing with methods, resources, and general materials. There is much good writing in those chapters, though in section 32, for instance, there is some lack of grace in expression, a certain degree of crotchiness, and some confusion in terminology. For example, on page 100 "tilde" is used in place of the correct "macron" and there is an implication that a garble is the same as a bowdlerization; and on page 101 the reader is jarred by the statement that "The editor . . . leaves others

as is." But who would begrudge an author his little whimsies? One could also point out that Berry's translation of Langlois and Seignobos, mentioned on page 25, was published in 1898 (the date given for the French publication), that there has been no revised edition, and that Berry's original errors remain in the imprint of 1925.

But it is unnecessary to stress the relatively insignificant slips of various sorts. The big thing in a book of this sort is the index, which fills 143 pages and yet is not too long. In general, it is admirable, though the student will sometimes have to search diligently for what he is seeking. Perhaps this is inevitable, but I would suggest that entries such as "This Man Willkie" and "*History of [London] Times*" will not be found under *W*, *L*, or *T*. It is likewise disturbing to find after the entry *London Times, Official Index*, the note *See also Times*; to look for *Times* on page 675; and find there only *Times-Picayune*. But again, mercifully, such puzzles are not frequent. Also, it is discomfiting to find only one reference to sanitation, and that for the years 1820-1860 when sanitary measures were but slightly considered. The listing of authors and titles of books in the index could have been greatly improved, at little expense and without materially increasing its length, by giving citations to each reference, instead of only the first. In fact, Stillé's *Sanitary Commission* really *is* entered twice, once as a source and again as a special monograph, and, contrary to the policy stated in the preface, the second citation is the fuller of the two. The single listing in almost all cases does serve one good purpose. When the reader stumbles on a later citation and wants full bibliographical data, the index tells where to find it.

The suggestions made above are intended mainly for the help of students who probably will never read this review, and in the hope that they will make an excellent book still more useful. Finally, it is a great comfort to those of us who never can get anything in print exactly correct, to find that six prominent scholars, after seventeen years of overtime work, could not entirely escape the same fate. This fact in itself should be a stimulus to research.

University of Illinois

FRED A. SHANNON

CHARLES A. BEARD: AN APPRAISAL. Edited by *Howard K. Beale*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1954. Pp. x, 312. \$4.50.)

BEARD did not make it easy for those who would honor him. It is indisputable that his prestige was far higher ten or twelve years before his death in 1948 than it has been since. Ever the pamphleteer, he persisted in his "continentalism" (i.e., isolationism) a full decade beyond the point where it had any meaning for most Americans. The editor of this memorial volume notes that among the participants "those who disagreed with the point of view of his last two books were more numerous than those who shared Beard's intellectual position" (p. v). Yet Beard's remarkable accomplishments in the broad fields of politics and his-

toriography deserve commemoration. It is surely proper to ask that a man be judged upon the basis of the whole of his life work.

This *Festschrift* consists of twelve "Beard-centered" essays and a bibliography of Beard's published works and of the principal writings about him. The essays are, for the most part, by leaders in the several fields in which Beard was interested. A good deal of overlapping and duplication, as well as a very marked unevenness in quality, was inevitable in a work such as this. Outstandingly good are three essays: Richard Hofstadter on Beard and the Constitution, Max Lerner on Beard's political theory, and Arthur Macmahon on Beard as a teacher. The late Harold Laski's view of Beard is interesting, more perhaps for what it tells us about Laski than for what it tells us about Beard. Eric Goldman's "An Impression" is disappointing because of its lack of substance. Other essays are Beale on Beard the historian, Merle Curti on Beard the historical critic, George S. Counts on Beard the public man, George R. Leighton on Beard's foreign policy pronouncements, George Soule on Beard's ideas on social planning, and Luther Gulick on Beard the municipal reformer. In a class all by itself is Walton Hamilton's "Fragments from the Politics," a deliberately manufactured collection of hunks of political thought, all the more irritating because some of them are interesting beginnings, middles, or ends. The most notable omission is a study of Beard's philosophy of history.

Except for the inexcusable absence of an index, the book is well arranged and attractively designed. Missing from the useful bibliography of Beard's writings by Jack Froome and Edmund David Cronon are his significant introductions to Ferdinand Lundberg's *Imperial Hearst* (1936) and to Silas Bent McKinley's *Democracy and Military Power* (1936) and his essay on Frederick Jackson Turner in *Books That Changed Our Minds*, edited by Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith (1939). Careful proofreading caught almost all mistakes, although it is a bit disconcerting to find California's most famous labor prisoner called "Frank" Mooney (p. 20).

There is inevitably a great deal of reverence in this volume, probably more than "Uncle Charlie" would have wanted. Beard was a passionate character: a man of wide and genuine learning and violent prejudices (against, among others, the military, the British, and the Great Man), ever the radical (sometimes appearing to be leftist, at other times reactionary), always with something of the air of the cracker barrel philosopher about him. Max Lerner makes perhaps the truest evaluation of all: "He was largely a theorist of power in its varied and bewildering forms—the party machine, the Presidency, the pressure group, the corporation, the press, the engines of propaganda and diplomacy, the wheelings and maneuverings of power politics in the international field. . . . His basic motivation was that of a satirist who is determined to strip away the phony and pretentious, and to unmask the realities, however unlovely they may prove" (p. 45).

University of California, Berkeley

ROBERT E. BURKE

MESSRS. WILLIAM PEPPERRELL: MERCHANTS AT PISCATAQUA.

By *Byron Fairchild*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1954. Pp. xi, 223. \$3.50.)

THE last fifteen years have produced so many new studies of early American business enterprise that we should soon be able to form a comprehensive picture of the whole subject unlike anything we have had before. This study of the house of Pepperrell, though more restricted in scope, is a useful addition to the investigations of other firms by Baxter, Hedges, and Pares. The first William Pepperrell was a Devon man who came to the Isles of Shoals in the 1670's. After establishing himself in the fisheries there he went on to Kittery, married the daughter of a prosperous shipwright, and became the region's leading merchant. His son, of the same name, carried on the business but gained his principal distinction (and a baronetcy) as commander of the expedition which captured Louisburg in 1745.

Through a variety of family papers and other original sources Mr. Fairchild traces the history of the family from the arrival of the first William Pepperrell at Kittery about 1680 to the departure of his great grandson as a Tory in 1775. The focus of attention is on business activities: where the Pepperrells traded, whom they traded with, what ships they owned a share in, how much they paid their seamen, and how they changed their trade routes as times changed. The reader will find a wealth of detailed information on all these matters, especially for the years from 1713 to 1733, for which there is almost a cargo-by-cargo description of the Pepperrells' ventures.

Two significant generalizations emerge from the details. The first is that the trade of the Pepperrells was seldom triangular. They traded at different times with Newfoundland, the West Indies, North Carolina, Ireland, Spain, and Portugal, but their vessels generally shuttled back and forth between Kittery and one of these places rather than making a circuit of three or more ports. The second point is that the Pepperrells were not heavily engaged in any activity that required them to break the Navigation Acts. There are only occasional instances of carrying enumerated commodities to the wrong place or of importing European goods from non-English ports. The Molasses Act they seem never to have violated, even though they had traded in molasses with the French Islands before it was passed. Since the Pepperrells were highly successful by any standards, these facts will help to shape the larger picture of colonial trade that is now developing.

Brown University

EDMUND S. MORGAN

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1775-1783. By *John Richard Alden*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xviii, 294. \$5.00.)

EVERY American historian and librarian has known for some years that Harper and Brothers had in the works a new multivolume survey of American

history designed to replace the old "American Nation Series." Eagerly they have awaited, carefully they will scrutinize the first volumes to appear. Do they live up to expectations? Will they become standard? How does the new series compare with the old? Should our library order it?

Obviously it is unreasonable to assess some forty-odd yet-unpublished volumes on the basis of the one or two which by chance appear first. For whatever it may be worth, however, my prognosis for the series, based on a reading of Professor Alden's *American Revolution*, is favorable. My prediction for this particular volume is that it is destined for a long and useful life. It is soundly organized, lucidly written, cogent in analysis, judicious in interpretation, accurate and wide-ranging in scholarship.

The new book is longer by at least a third than Van Tyne's comparable volume in the earlier series. The extra space enables Professor Alden to trace the military campaigns in greater detail. It is perhaps here that he is at his best. He describes actions, analyzes strategy and tactics, assesses results, in such a way that a non-military-minded reader can follow them with understanding and interest. His maps, incidentally, are excellent. Not avowedly a "revisionist," Alden nevertheless alters some older judgments accepted by Van Tyne. He has warm things to say of General Richard Montgomery on the American side, of Sir Guy Carleton on the British. For the generalship of Washington he has measured praise; for that of Howe, temperate criticism. Declining to compare Nathanael Greene's talents with those of his commander-in-chief, he says simply, "it is unlikely that any other American general could have surpassed [Greene's] achievements in the South" (p. 236). He gives relatively little space, as compared with Van Tyne, to George Rogers Clark and the war in the west. Charles Lee comes off better than he has usually done in the past, but this is not unexpected to those who have read Mr. Alden's book on that controversial soldier. If there is a "revisionist" thesis in this book, it is the suggestion (pp. 115-16) that Trenton, not Saratoga, was the turning point of the war. British control of the Hudson-Champlain line would not necessarily have broken the back of American resistance, Alden believes, but Washington's victory at Trenton may have revived a dying cause.

The nonmilitary aspects of the Revolution are not neglected. In general, Professor Alden accepts Jameson's notion that social changes accompanied the war, but he does not exaggerate them. He describes the plight of the Loyalists, but refuses to sentimentalize them. (Incidentally, he doubts that they were as numerous as is usually held, and points out that the familiar estimate—one-third Tory, one-third patriot, one-third neutral—is based on a remark John Adams made about attitudes toward the *French*, not the American revolution!) The much-abused Continental Congress, he thinks, actually exercised more sovereignty than historians have credited it with. He is not ashamed to say that it did well in issuing the Declaration of Independence. "Far too much," he submits, has been said against "that immortal proposition that 'all men are created equal'".

Presumably one reason for projecting a "New American Nation Series" was the belief that a half-century of American historical scholarship had uncovered new facts, produced new interpretations. Professor Alden's book bears out this belief. He incorporates into his narrative, for example, some of Benjamin Franklin's recently identified letters to the British press, the "secret" marching orders received by General Gage just before the eighteenth of April, 1775, the documents on undercover diplomacy used by Carl Van Doren. He accepts the Knollenberg thesis that there was no formidable "cabal" against Washington in the winter of 1777-78, but apparently rejects the Nettels argument that George Washington was in the forefront of the movement for independence before 1776. The bibliography is extensive and usable—critical in dealing with general accounts and source collections, selective in listing biographies and monographs.

With this volume and Professor Link's on Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive era, the "New American Nation Series" is well launched.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

SWEDISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN FREEDOM, 1776-1783. Including a Sketch of the Background of the Revolution Together with an Account of the Engagements in which Swedish Officers Participated and Biographical Sketches of These Men. Volume I. By *Amandus Johnson*. [The Swedes in America, 1638-1938, Part VII.] (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Foundation. 1953. Pp. xiii, 692.)

THIS is the first of two volumes dealing with America, Sweden, and the American Revolution. The interesting and individual introduction begins with Dante, encompasses early modern thought and the development of England, France, Holland, and Sweden to 1775, and ends with Abbé Raynal's *Révolution de l'Amérique*. Following is a copiously documented section on the background of the American Revolution, centering attention on the mental changes that were the real catalytic agents, rather than on the economic and political events that punctuated the path to Lexington and Concord.

The bulk of the volume, six chapters, is concerned with the Revolutionary War from 1778 to the end of 1782 (in a chapter on the East Indies, to 1783). A chapter on armed neutrality and Swedish-American trade is followed by a final one on Sweden's attempt to secure a Caribbean island and on her negotiation of a treaty of friendship and commerce with the new republic of the United States. The vast amount of material collected and organized reveals that very few Swedes took part in the Revolution as Americans. The greater part served in the French army and navy, a considerable number in the Dutch navy against England, some few in the Spanish navy, and perhaps a handful in the Spanish and Dutch armies in the colonial field or in Spain's futile attempt to regain Gibraltar. Since many individual Swedes sought military or naval experience, the author has found evidence for many also in the British navy, although very

few seem to have sought service with the British army. Most of those in British service seem to have gone home when France entered the war.

The old Swedish tradition of alliance with France proved conducive to a neutrality which Vergennes found highly benevolent, Sweden taking part in the sleight-of-hand work by which munitions, supplies, and matériel found their way from Europe to the thirteen struggling colonies. The official leave to "seek experience in foreign service" seems seldom to have been refused, and seldom is it followed by any notation other than "sailed from France" or "assigned to duty with" some French regiment or other. The interesting reports from Swedish participants are written from the point of view of Paris and Stockholm, not with thought of London or Philadelphia. The most valuable new material comes from the letters of Creutz, the Swedish minister to France. The volume adds much to our knowledge, chiefly reinforcing what we knew before.

The errors, most of them typographical, are quite numerous but seldom distort the meaning beyond ready discernment. The style varies from a most vivid and lively one to occasional passages of stodgy and prosaic narration, but is in general well above average in clarity. The author promises that the second volume on this period will include biographical material and cultural details. The series when completed will comprise ten volumes.

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

TRAITOROUS HERO: THE LIFE AND FORTUNES OF BENEDICT ARNOLD. By *Willard M. Wallace*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xiii, 394. \$5.00.)

THE War of the Revolution is a subject, like Cleopatra, that age cannot wither nor custom stale. In recent years much new work has been done on it, and some of the best by biographers. They have re-emphasized the importance of a few key figures whose will or willfulness, and whose conflicts with each other, played as real a part as armies in determining the outcome. This revived stress on individuals was bound to produce, at a time when treason is much on the public mind, a reassessment of the war's most notorious figure; it is scarcely accident that Benedict Arnold should have found a new biographer.

It is, however, surprising that he should have found two almost simultaneously. Thomas Flexner's *The Traitor and the Spy* has already been reviewed in these pages (LIX [Apr., 1954], 724-25). It is a double biography, in which Arnold and André are joined, like Siamese twins, by the accident of their brief co-operation. Mr. Flexner draws on considerable new material, most of it in manuscript and some in his imagination, and does not always make clear where one category ends and the other begins. *Traitorous Hero* is quite different. Its single focus gives it a unity that the other book lacks. Mr. Wallace, furthermore, approaches his material more soberly; on the crucial parts of the story he has unearthed little new evidence, but where it is lacking he has the candor to say

so. What was Peggy Arnold's role in the conspiracy? What did Arnold discuss so long with André when they met, and why did he give him the fatal documents? Where Mr. Flexner gives or suggests the answers, Mr. Wallace sticks to his last—and turns out sound historical workmanship.

A biographer's greatest temptation is partiality. He cannot understand a man's character without attempting to see the world through his eyes, and the attempt usually impairs his own critical faculty. Mr. Wallace is the exception. He underlines Arnold's many and great shortcomings and shows his treason for what it was, the explosion of an egoism unrestrained by doubt or patience. He is scrupulously fair to the mediocrities, such as Gates, with whom Arnold was constantly tangling. At the same time he substantiates his conclusion (p. 103) that Arnold was "the most daring and resourceful officer on the field of battle that the Revolution produced." The general's incredible energy and will to win made him a genius in action and then, when action was denied him, rotted out his soul. The rot became apparent in the postwar years (a period for which his manuscripts have revealed much new evidence), but it had been at work long before. From the day he opened communication with Sir Henry Clinton to the day he died, a slow nemesis pursued him.

In Mr. Wallace's concluding chapter he summarizes, with great effectiveness, Arnold's place among generals and traitors. But the most arresting verdict is one that he quotes (p. 300), and the fact that he has prepared the reader to accept it is a measure of accomplishment. "I must confess," wrote Talleyrand, "that I felt much pity for him, for which political puritans will perhaps blame me, but with which I do not reproach myself, for I witnessed his agony."

University of Michigan

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Gerald Stourzh*. [Prepared under the Auspices of the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy, University of Chicago.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 335. \$4.50.)

THIS book is an interpretive study of Franklin's concepts and aims in matters of foreign affairs rather than a narration of his actions and negotiations in that field. Franklin's character was as many-faceted as were his activities. The analysis of his principles and motivations is therefore a complex task. It is one that is here completed with obvious exactitude, fullness, and objectivity. The results are presented in most readable style. All sorts of unqualified statements have been made by historians, philosophers, and others concerning Franklin's guiding principles. He has been variously called, to give a few examples, the embodiment of pragmatism, the symbol of the Age of Enlightenment, the apostle of reasonableness. No one of these characterizations is fully accurate. Many of them are totally inaccurate. If one fact emerges from this book it is that no single formula can correctly categorize Franklin's thought. He appears as the complex char-

acter he was—eminently reasonable and logical, sufficiently practical to value highly both the effective action and the well-ordered thought, sufficiently understanding to make patient allowance for the shortcomings of others while still preserving his own ideals. For him the problems of foreign affairs presented multitudinous gradations of importance. He realized that great affairs do not sort themselves out conveniently into sharply defined pros and cons but that between two extremes of possible action may be many alternatives from which to choose.

Franklin's ideas on foreign policy were based upon a sharp and accurate understanding of the basic factors of international relations. He was well aware of the economic, the strategic, the demographic, the geographic, and the ideological factors of power politics. He fully understood the anarchical basis of the nation-state system, while distrusting the balance-of-power theory as a means of preserving peace. He hoped for world harmony, yet was skeptical of plans for international organization to keep the peace. He expected that world peace might one day come, but only after a long period of gradual development. On this subject he was a short-range pessimist but a long-range optimist. The "isms" of his day never captured him. Whatever they were, he saw through them to underlying realities. He possessed an almost uncanny knack of adjusting his arguments and his actions to the needs of the moment in such a way as to further the ends he sought. Yet he was neither entirely opportunist nor entirely pragmatist, for underlying all his actions was an amazing consistency of aim and purpose. He knew enough to accept half a loaf when the whole could not be had, and to bide in patience the day when the rest might come his way.

The startling success of infant America's first ventures into the wilds of eighteenth-century European diplomacy was due in large part to the finesse of Franklin. The greatest statesmen of Europe knew this and paid to Franklin the deep respect which they normally accorded only to the best of their kind.

Dr. Stourzh has traced Franklin's ideas within the framework of Franklin's actions and has provided a running review of the events in which Franklin took part. There are few narrative sources of any consequence which have not been consulted. The description of America's relations with France is accurate in all major respects. The political historian of the period who is interested primarily in the sequence of events and only to a lesser degree in the intellectual processes of their prime movers, might find occasion to differ with the author on some minor points of factual interpretation. Undue reliance seems to have been placed here and there on the conclusions of other writers without sufficiently close attention to differing points of view that might well modify the mirrored interpretation. It is a real pleasure to find Silas Deane, the much-maligned first foreign agent of the United States, receiving in this book the credit due him for his great contributions to the opening of our relations with France.

The book is fully and carefully annotated in a most helpful way. Notes are consolidated at the end of the volume. The index is adequate. This is a volume

of substantial excellence which seems for the first time to provide a satisfactorily balanced interpretation of Franklin's ideas in the field of foreign policy.

Hunter College

JOHN J. MENG

THE FOUNDING FATHERS. By *Nathan Schachner*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1954. Pp. x, 630. \$6.00.)

To avoid any confusion it must be made clear at the outset that the term "Founding Fathers," as Mr. Schachner uses it, does not refer only to those men who wrote the Constitution at Philadelphia in 1787. In his opinion the term is more properly applied to that group of gifted and extraordinary men—which included not only Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, Madison, and Monroe but also Fisher Ames, Aaron Burr, John Marshall, Gallatin, and many others—who put the newly created government on its course and brought it through the rough uncharted waters of the first twelve critical years to safety. Many of these men qualify as founding fathers by any definition, but Schachner's distinction emphasizes his estimate of the importance of the Federalist period, extending from 1789 to 1801 and covering the administrations of Washington and John Adams.

The domestic and foreign problems facing the first chief executive and the handful of men who assembled in New York in the spring of 1789 to form the first Congress were indeed staggering. They had few precedents to guide them and there was a noticeable lack of agreement on many important matters, including the meaning of the instrument of government that had brought them together. Not all the colonies had even yet ratified the Constitution. Sectional differences, economic interests, and divergent theories of government divided not only those on whom rested the responsibility for transforming, as Charles Beard said, "mere words on parchment . . . into an engine of sovereign compulsion," but also the 4,000,000 inhabitants of the infant republic. Officials had to be selected, the machinery of government created, taxes levied, trade and commerce regulated, a fiscal system established, and a host of other problems solved. "We are in a wilderness," wrote James Madison, "without a single footstep to guide us."

The way in which the founding fathers met these problems and handled the great issues that arose in the following decade—the funding of the public debt, the creation of a national bank, the Alien and Sedition Acts—is a familiar story. Inevitably, those two great protagonists, Jefferson and Hamilton, take the center of the stage; the conflict between their philosophies of government forms the main theme of the drama. On this conflict, which found political expression in the program of the Federalist and Republican parties, Mr. Schachner has little to offer that is new. But his attitude toward the Federalists, whom he views with tolerance and sympathy, is in marked contrast to the Jeffersonian emphasis in much of the recent historical literature on the period.

Schachner is at his best when dealing with individuals. Author of biographies of Jefferson, Hamilton, and Burr, he is clearly more interested in men than in institutions. Throughout the book he focuses on the men, on the human drama. Nowhere does he present systematically the philosophy, program, and achievements of the two great parties of the day. To social and economic conditions he gives only perfunctory attention; rarely does he probe their relation to the political philosophy and program of each of the emerging parties.

It has been almost thirty years since the publication of Claude G. Bowers' *Jefferson and Hamilton*, the last comprehensive survey of the Federalist period. Since then much valuable work has been done on the period, and the contributions of many of its leading figures have been reassessed. The need for a fresh survey was clear and it is this need which Mr. Schachner has sought to meet. He has been only partially successful, for *The Founding Fathers* is essentially a political narrative, focused on individuals, bare of fresh interpretations, and with an undue stress on the dramatic. It is withal a lively and readable book, one that will attract the general reader and provide the undergraduate with an up-to-date text on the critical years of the American Republic.

Washington, D.C.

LOUIS MORTON

THE ADAMS FEDERALISTS. By *Manning J. Dauer*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 381. \$6.00.)

THE Adams Federalists were those members of the Federalist party who gave allegiance, however grudgingly, to President John Adams rather than to ex-Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. Professor Dauer undertakes here to find out who and what they were, and why they followed the course they did. He has analyzed votes on selected issues in the House of Representatives in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Congresses, and in the first session of the Seventh Congress, or from March, 1796, through May, 1802. He has also examined Adams' political and economic ideas, and those of some of his contemporaries, by way of background for a discussion of interparty relationships. The book is, in short, an ingenious combination of statistical analysis, political theory, biography, and political history. Altogether, the resulting study is both interesting and significant. Professor Dauer shows how the Federalist party was from the start made up of both commercial and agrarian interests, how Hamilton's policies favored the commercial group while Adams gave at least equal weight to agriculture, and how Adams' actions were conditioned by his personality and his experience. Adams emerges from Professor Dauer's study not quite so inept a politician as he has sometimes been painted (though still too inept for successful party leadership), and closer in thought to Jefferson than he was to the Hamiltonians of his own party.

It was Adams' misfortune to be President during a period of party realignment, basically economic in its underlying causes but confused by foreign pres-

tures and by domestic issues that were not always relevant. The role of political parties under the Constitution was far from clear. No such development had been anticipated, and Adams was not flexible enough to adapt himself to it when it came. He held himself, as President, to be independent of party, and so the party leadership slipped easily into the too eager hands of Hamilton. Adams had a program which was not without congressional support, but it was never a party program in the sense that men stood for or against it at the polls. He failed to make himself the leader of a party, and so those moderates who supported him in Congress drifted over to the Jeffersonians or swallowed their reservations and went along with Hamilton. The alignment was substantially complete by 1800, and Adams left office a man without a party. His failure was personal. He had not learned the essential lesson—that a President must lead a party, no matter who gets hurt, or meekly abdicate his power and evade his responsibility.

Washington, D.C.

CHARLES M. WILTSE

JAMES MADISON: SECRETARY OF STATE, 1800-1809. By *Irving Brant*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1953. Pp. 533. \$6.00.)

THIS fourth volume by Irving Brant in his extended life of James Madison covers an important period. The peaceful revolution of 1800 had overthrown the Federalists and brought Jefferson and the Republicans into office. Begun with bright visions of Utopia, it ended lamely with the fiasco of the Embargo policy and worsened relations with foreign powers which culminated during Madison's own administration as President in the War of 1812. But there were triumphs as well as defeats during these vital years, the most notable of which was the purchase of Louisiana and the final assurance that the West would remain an integral part of the Union. In all of these Madison had his part as Secretary of State.

The current volume continues the style and point of view of the preceding three, and possesses the same virtues and defects. Mr. Brant's industry and diligence in research are astounding. He has ranged widely and deeply in the sources, and it seems hardly likely that any further important material will be unearthed on Madison. For this the world of scholarship owes him a debt of gratitude.

But this very virtue carries within it the seed of its own excess. For Mr. Brant has sometimes been too lavish with his material, going off into side paths which, however interesting, have only a tenuous connection with the onward march of his hero's story. Judicious pruning would have added considerably to the artistic unity of the whole and would have brought the completed biography to manageable proportions. But in this failing, if it is one, Mr. Brant is not alone. The trend today seems to be to multivolumed lives which cast the Victorian three-decker "life and times" into the shade.

Another fault—and again one which is shared with most modern biographers

—is that the subject of the biography is literally the “hero.” Perhaps this is a rebound from the debunking era of the twenties; but this reviewer at least is convinced that it sins equally against that rigorous impartiality toward which the historian and biographer should aim in theory. Madison was without question one of the outstanding figures of his age, and it is the duty of his biographer to portray him as such. But it goes beyond the call of duty to knock down everyone else in order to exalt the hero, to make extravagant claims for him, to depict him without a single mar or blot, as Mr. Brant has done. Madison’s role as Secretary of State was important, but he was not responsible for the purchase of Louisiana any more than Jefferson himself was. If any credit must be assigned for that tremendous acquisition, it must be allotted to the sudden and unpredictable decision of Napoleon to sell. And Gallatin, who perhaps did more to shape history during these years, is completely overshadowed in the narration.

Mr. Brant’s partisanship betrays itself sometimes in other ways. His treatment of Aaron Burr is less than accurate. In describing the contest for the presidency in 1800 he “proves” the thesis that Burr conspired to supersede Jefferson by marshaling every bit of evidence, primary, second-hand, or mere assertion, in favor of that thesis and overlooks equally weighty evidence against. Such, for example, are omissions from Congressman Bayard’s letter to Allan McLane, Federalist collector of customs, declaring “I have taken good care of you” and “I have direct information that Mr. Jefferson will not pursue that plan [of removing Federalists from office].” Similarly he builds up a case against Burr’s public renunciation by letter of December 16, 1800, because the election tie was not yet known, but omits reference to the letter of December 23 to Jefferson, when it *was*. Mr. Brant is also vehement in his attacks on Henry Adams for alleged mistranslations from the French in his famous history. Actually, these were not so much mistranslations as variants, and even if Mr. Brant’s versions be taken as correct, they do not justify the tremendous importance he attaches to them.

In spite of these specific criticisms, however, the sheer mass and research of Mr. Brant’s volumes make them the source to which all students of history must turn in the future for any extended study of Madison and his times. They will not easily be superseded.

New York, N.Y.

NATHAN SCHACHNER

THE BURR CONSPIRACY. By *Thomas Perkins Abernethy*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 301. \$6.00.)

It is beginning to look as though the big questions connected with the Burr Conspiracy will never be settled. After years of patient investigation which included the study of “a considerable body of largely unexplored materials,” Professor Abernethy is content to allow the facts to speak for themselves. Not that there is the slightest doubt in his mind as to the guilt of Burr and Wilkin-

son and their associates, but pinning down the exact crime at the precise moment is something else again. In any event, Burr's purposes certainly shifted with his fluctuating fortunes.

According to Abernethy, the potentialities of the conspiracy "were so portentous that . . . next to the Confederate War it posed the greatest threat of dismemberment which the American Union has ever faced." How about the crisis of 1850? The author also suggests that the Burr affair was "only a little less momentous than the acquisition of Louisiana." Here again every person is entitled to his own conclusion.

Burr's hopes rested upon an explosive spirit of disaffection in the West, particularly in New Orleans where the Creoles had considerable legal and religious causes for their animosity toward Jefferson's administration, and on the intrigues of eastern Federalists, Yazoo and other speculators, and disappointed soldiers of fortune and office seekers. Success likewise depended upon a war with Spain, help from Britain (or from high Spanish officials prepared to connive at revolution in Latin America) and treason among certain United States naval officers.

Needless to say, the *British, Spaniards, and naval officers were not obliging*. Western nationalism proved to be an overwhelming force. Moreover, much of Burr's apparent support depended on his assertion of backing from Washington and on his maintenance of irreconcilable purposes. Jackson could look benignly on a Mexican adventure while Yrujo did sympathize with a move to break up the Union; but, sooner or later, Burr had to declare himself and thereby turn friends into enemies. Wilkinson, "the most skilful and unscrupulous plotter this country has ever produced," wavered in his support of Burr for almost a year before his hand was forced in October, 1806.

It may be that the plot failed chiefly because Wilkinson "adhered to his turn-coat pattern with chameleon-like consistency," but it is more likely that Burr's case was hopeless before Wilkinson's defection. The general did not double-cross his fellow conspirator for no reason; his shrewd judgment in this crucial instance once more demonstrated the superior wisdom which made Burr look like a babe in arms.

The Burr Conspiracy is an unadorned, complete narrative of events from the conferences of Wilkinson and Burr in the Philadelphia home of Charles Biddle in the summer of 1804 through Burr's farcical trial and the whitewash of Wilkinson in 1807. With the exception of his tangential excursion with Zebulon Pike, the author sticks to straightening out the thousands of facts and hundreds of individuals that complicate the conspiracy. Burr remains a somewhat more shadowy figure than Wilkinson and both conspirators are subservient to the plot itself.

This last word on one of the great dramas in our history would have been vastly improved with the inclusion of a few maps and perhaps with a summary of previous findings in the controversy. But until new evidence is discovered, which seems unlikely, the spinners of theories regarding the great American

mystery must turn to Abernethy's competent and scholarly volume for the facts which mark their point of departure.

University of Mississippi

JAMES W. SILVER

HORACE GREELEY: NINETEENTH-CENTURY CRUSADER. By *Glyndon G. Van Deusen*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, for American Historical Association. 1953. Pp. 445. \$5.00.)

THIS biography of Horace Greeley is at times like the man himself: "suggestive, inspiring and disappointing." The best general study available, it has shortcomings due at least in part to a cantankerous and contradictory subject who often seems bent on frustrating his biographer.

Nevertheless, Mr. Van Deusen has constructed a careful chronological account based upon his own intimate acquaintance with the Clay-Weed era and a hard-won knowledge of the Greeley sources. His range includes the whole life, from Fourierism to family tragedy, but the author usually concentrates on Greeley the Whig-Republican, a conservative whose job was journalism and whose predilection was politics. National and state elections, crusades for government action on high tariffs or internal improvements or free farms, a dangerously disordered progress to and through the Civil War, unrequited love for public office—all provide main lines of development.

The text is accompanied by enigmatic chapter titles which dramatize rather than describe, a scattering of contemporary illustrations plus one happily unorthodox selection from George Price of the *New Yorker*, some seven pages of bibliography, an index on the thin side, and footnotes sheepishly tucked away at the end of each chapter (this last is surprising in a book published under the direction of the American Historical Association from income of the Beveridge fund).

Greeley is fairly portrayed as a symbol of aspiring America, the great editor who shared his dream of national glory with the millions. But he also is revealed, and conclusively, as fundamentally shallow, an idealist who paid regular obeisance to expediency, a noisy reformer who preached well but practiced poorly, and a fierce partisan whose unappeased appetite for political office overcame his taste for truth. The author observes approvingly that "many an honest fellow had come to the conviction that, while Horace was a great man, he was scarcely fitted for the responsibilities of high office."

The fact that so many people, politicians and plain citizens alike, fell into the habit of not voting for Horace Greeley raises a fundamental, and unanswered, question. How much political influence did Greeley really have? Democrats defeated him at the polls, and fellow partisans like Weed and Seward and Lincoln and Grant paid their respects to the power of the *Tribune's* press while they systematically flouted the editor. Perhaps there is no dependable way of calculating Greeley's strength, but a thorough examination of his journal-

istic weapon might have helped. Further, an organized analysis of the major political-economic changes in Greeley's America would have established a dependable background against which the man could be judged in clearer perspective.

This would be especially true for the period after the Civil War, where the author fails to develop the character of the business force which gained control of the Republican party and the federal government. The biographical result is that the fundamental meaning and irony of Greeley's own presidential crusade are obscured. Erratic to the last, the defeated candidate died calling himself liberal, and fighting Republicans who were building a conservative business state from the same plans Horace Greeley had worked on all his life.

George Washington University

RICHARD C. HASKETT

INSIDE LINCOLN'S CABINET: THE CIVIL WAR DIARIES OF SALMON P. CHASE. Edited by *David Donald*, Associate Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1954. Pp. ix, 342. \$6.50.)

HISTORIANS of the Civil War have long recognized that the editing of the wartime diaries of Salmon P. Chase by a competent scholar would rank second in usefulness only to a first-class biography of Lincoln's able, humorless, vain, self-righteous, ambitious Secretary of the Treasury. With his *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet*, David Donald has obliged, and the result is the most satisfactory job of its kind since Howard K. Beale's magnificent *Diary of Edward Bates*.

Large portions of the Chase diaries, now unhappily divided between the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library of Congress, have previously been available in print. But the portions published in the Warden and the Schuckers biographies of Chase, suffering from earnest amateurism, were disjointed, inaccurate, and, of course, incomplete. Another portion, contained in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1902 (Vol. II), is a tantalizing fragment almost entirely innocent of editing.

The present volume covers the period December 9, 1861, to May 1, 1865. Some of the material, particularly that dealing with the election of 1864, has not heretofore appeared in print. Most important lacunae in the Chase version of Civil War Washington are periods of about ten and a half months from middle October, 1862, to late August, 1863, eight and a half months from early October, 1863, to late June, 1864, and four months from November 27, 1864, to March 31, 1865.

The printed text runs 226 pages and is divided into eight parts (parts 3 and 4 paralleling the 1902 version), each with a brief prefatory statement. Forty-eight pages of notes and comments deal with the diaries themselves, correcting errors, identifying persons and places, providing supplementary information, and breathing life into some of the more pedestrian of the Secretary's efforts.

A penetrating, forty-five page assessment of Chase serves as the introduction

to the volume. It makes no pretense of adding anything new to the Chase saga, but it is concise, comprehensive, and balanced. While he failed to become President, Chase "achieved an unusual record of distinguished service in all three branches of the Federal government." His public services "were unquestionably important, but whether they were admirable is a matter upon which neither contemporaries nor later historians have agreed."

Extremely influential early in the war, Chase watched his position gradually deteriorate until by 1863, aside from his arduous Treasury duties, he had been reduced to the contemplation of various crack-pot schemes and his own Presidential delusions. Regretting the "attitude of embattled virtue" which made Chase father confessor to contemporary extremists and fanatics, Mr. Donald views his Presidential maneuverings temperately. He makes a particularly good case for his point that, although criticisms of Chase's fiscal policies may be sound economically, they are "essentially unhistorical."

A good working index rounds out a solid editorial job which suffers only in that the notes are at the back of the book.

Colgate University

CHARLES R. WILSON

A HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. By *Clement Eaton*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. ix, 351. \$5.50.)

THE author of this book has succeeded well in what he set out to do. He has written a well-balanced book and has compressed in a compact style a great deal of information. It is factual rather than discursive down a great many enticing lines which could have been followed. The author makes no sweeping generalizations, though it must not be inferred that he fails to express judgments or take a point of view on occasion. This is especially true in his discussion of battles and military campaigns, where he frequently judges the mistakes of commanders. His clear and restrained treatment of the war itself is an admirable feature of the book.

The author has integrated the many forces, factors, and conditions which make up a people's existence. A few chapters take care of the organization and operation of the government; there is a chapter on diplomacy and a chapter on naval operations. Of the fourteen chapters five may be said to deal definitely with military operations, in which the life of the soldiers as well as of the generals is taken up. The author gives excellent short sketches of the principal military commanders. Social, economic, and cultural conditions in the Confederacy receive adequate attention. Striving to be impartial and finding it not too difficult since he was born in the South and received much of his formal education in the North, the author has shown some of that impartiality by the names he has applied to the war. Mostly it is Civil War, which is the sensible term, but as a concession to extreme Southerners he uses infrequently War for Southern Independence, though never the cumbersome War between the States.

In discussing the perennial question of why the South lost the war, the author's answer is indicated in his chapter heading "The Loss of the Will to Fight." There should be little disagreement in his conclusion that the Southerners never put their full resources, human and material, into their war effort. He does not hazard a guess as to what might have happened if they had done so.

One of the features of the book is the exploitation of manuscript materials, much of which has not heretofore been used. Quotations from such material add spice and atmosphere to the narrative but have overturned no previous historical findings, and, of course, the use of manuscript material by no means has been neglected in other writings on the Civil War and the Confederacy. Probably the most important of the manuscripts and certainly the one the author has used more than any other is the Robert G. H. Kean diary, which will soon be published.

In attractiveness and effectiveness, this book suffers somewhat by the absence of maps and other illustrative material. Although it is well documented by footnotes, the many sources used have not been gathered together into a bibliography, the lack of which will be felt by serious scholars.

University of Georgia

E. MERTON COULTER

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE AND THOUGHT: THE NADIR, 1877-1901. By *Rayford W. Logan*, Professor of History, Howard University. (New York: Dial Press. 1954. Pp. x, 380. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Logan's study provides, first, an account of the whittling away of the post-Civil War guarantees to the freedmen which took place under successive presidents from Hayes to McKinley and, second, a survey of attitudes toward this process as publicly expressed in selected newspapers and magazines, primarily "Northern." The study will serve admirably to convince those foreign critics of America referred to by the author that "greater inequalities" than those now existing were suffered by Negroes during "earlier periods in our history." When he has finished Professor Logan's book, any foreign critic will have to agree that the immediate past has seen a remarkable reversal of trend in American race relations which could not have been forecast by the blandest optimist in 1901.

A major problem presented by this book is one of semantics. The study is divided into two parts. Eight chapters in the first part cover "the life" and six in the second cover "the thought" of the period. A final, semi-reminiscent chapter lists positives upon which the "progress" of the past forty years has been based. "The life" is conceived of as the political, legal, and economic status of the Negro and "the thought" as what was said about that life. The result is that, instead of a book about the Negro in American life and thought, we have a series of analyses and summaries of what was presented by white Americans as definitions of the Negro in American life and sometimes the

counterverbalisms of other white Americans and of Negroes when they were able or willing to answer back. The study is, then, a record of a great debate, worth studying in its own terms if it be remembered that debates take place in words and that the words of debates are not always identical with the truth.

Professor Logan presents much new material, large parts of it based upon the researches of graduate students at Howard, but that the Negro's actual physical presence had any relation to the shape of towns, of public morals and ethics, of theories of literature or the arts, or a host of other aspects of "life and thought" is only lightly touched upon. Footnotes, printed at the back of the volume without running chapter or page headings, are, as is usual in this method of printing, difficult to use; the index is adequate; there is no bibliography.

Lincoln University, Missouri

ULYSSES LEE

PIONEER'S MISSION: THE STORY OF LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER.

By *William B. Hesseltine*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1954. Pp. ix, 384. \$4.50.)

LYMAN C. Draper was not a great man. He was not a great archivist, as anyone who has used the Draper Collection can testify. He was not a great historian, as anyone who has read any of the few books that he wrote knows. But he was a great collector and he laid wide and deep the foundations of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, upon which his successors have built one of the greatest institutions of the kind in the country. As Dr. Hesseltine says, Draper was not "an originator . . . but . . . he was an energetic adapter of other men's ideas, and a pioneer in carrying new ideas to the frontier." He "was a typical American promoter . . . a believer in publicity, and missed no opportunity to advertise himself, the Historical Society, the city of Madison, and the State of Wisconsin." In 1866, however, he hoped for a federal appointment that might facilitate his historical studies.

Draper's concept of the functions of a historical society was modern. As early as 1854 he "pointed out that historical societies had a duty to collect contemporary materials, which, in time, would become the sources of history." During the Civil War he advertised for and collected for the society much war material, and in 1869 he asked for information for the society on so wide a range of social activities that it could be said that he was laying foundations for what later was called the "New History."

This biography may serve to dispel some legends that have grown up about the Draper Collection. Many scholars appear to think that it was assembled for the Wisconsin Historical Society. As a matter of fact, Draper began his collecting long before he went to Madison and he retained the collection as his private property until his death in 1891, when the society acquired it with the rest of his property. Draper was a dealer as well as a collector, especially of autographs, and he became an expert in this field. Moreover, at least after 1876,

he was jealous of his collection and sometimes refused access to it to other scholars and collectors. Fortunately, the society has made the collection readily available to scholars and much effective use has been made of it, despite its somewhat weird arrangement. Fortunately also, the society has successfully warded off claims of others to part or all of the collection.

Draper was something of a squirrel. He appears to have saved every document that came into his hands, and, as a consequence, the Draper Correspondence, which is distinct from the Draper Collection, has provided Dr. Hesseltine with an invaluable mine of data. Not content with this, however, he has searched the papers of many of Draper's contemporaries, not only in the holdings of the Wisconsin society but also in those of other repositories; and his brief essay entitled "Materials for a Biography" reveals the fact that ample materials were available. The "Notes to the Text," which unfortunately are assembled at the back of the book instead of being at the bottoms of the pages where they ought to be, reveal the extensive use that has been made of these materials. Dr. Hesseltine writes well, despite occasional infelicities such as "the Reverend Shane," and his book makes a real contribution to our understanding of the evolution of cultural activities in the nineteenth-century Middle West.

Library of Congress

SOLON J. BUCK

THE PAPERS OF WILBUR AND ORVILLE WRIGHT: INCLUDING THE CHANUTE-WRIGHT LETTERS AND OTHER PAPERS OF OCTAVE CHANUTE. Volume I, 1899-1905. Volume II, 1906-1948. By Marvin W. McFarland, Editor. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1953. Pp. lv, 673; xxvii, 677-1278. \$25.00.)

FIFTY years after the epoch-making flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, the private papers of the Wright brothers are published for the first time; although it should be noted that several hundred of these letters (or more accurately, excerpts) were edited by Fred C. Kelly and published in 1951. Marvin W. McFarland, of the Library of Congress Aeronautics Division, has rendered a magnificent service in editing and annotating this great mass of material comprising almost 1,300 printed pages. The diaries, personal notes, and letters reveal the warmth, wit, and affection, also the integrity, of these two aviation pioneers.

The Wrights became interested in the possibilities of a flight in early childhood, but not until 1896, when they began to read articles in newspapers and magazines about gliders, especially the flights of Otto Lilienthal, did they undertake the serious study of gliders. Letters written in May and June, 1899, to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution seeking literature on gliding testify to their determination to approach the study scientifically. The extensive correspondence with Octave Chanute, covering the years 1901-1911, reveals a strange kinship of minds on the part of these three men. One can trace in chrono-

logical detail every major principle that was developed in the early years of aviation history. Charts, tables, drawings, and involved mathematical calculations appear throughout the correspondence. There are numerous tables showing wind-tunnel experiments, notebooks on propellers, and a number of articles, lectures, and highly technical papers. Among the most important papers that appeared early in the collection is the significant lecture which Wilbur Wright gave before the Western Society of Engineers, meeting in Chicago, September 18, 1901.

But the letters reveal much more than charts and papers. They reveal the many-sided qualities of the Wright brothers, their outstanding inventiveness, and their business acumen. In their contract dealings with foreign business houses, banks, and with the house of J. P. Morgan, their New York agent for handling foreign exchange, they demonstrated an intimate understanding of business deals. The Wrights mastered just about every scientific principle in aviation history. When, in 1919, Orville Wright was asked what he regarded as the most "significant episode" in the birth of flying at Kitty Hawk (Wilbur died in 1912), he said that after he and Wilbur had discovered that the tables of air pressure then in existence were entirely unreliable, they were led into the designing and construction of a wind-tunnel and apparatus to be used in the tunnel for measuring the lift and draft and the center of pressure on acrofoils. "It was really this laboratory work," he added, "that made possible the construction of our first power flyer." Orville's views were sought on all kinds of matters relating to aviation and its effects upon society. At the close of World War I he declared that "the aeroplane has made war so terrible that I do not believe any country will again care to start a war." He did not think a separate air service, detached from Army and Navy, would be for the best interests in national defense.

Mr. McFarland's extensive editorial notes add immeasurably to the value of the *Papers*. He and his staff of able assistants have not only explained for the lay reader the meaning of many technical terms but, more important, they have clarified numerous incidents and events, mostly the personal relations between the Wright brothers and those persons with whom they had business deals, not always the most friendly. Finally, one of the most interesting facts connected with this monumental publication is the story of how these papers were preserved and how at long last they came to be deposited in the Library of Congress.

University of Pittsburgh

JOHN W. OLIVER

ELIHU ROOT AND THE CONSERVATIVE TRADITION. By *Richard W. Leopold*. [The Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. x, 222. \$3.00.)

THIS concise and easily read biography is not designed as a competitor of Philip C. Jessup's massive two-volume work (*Elihu Root*, 1938). The author acknowledges his heavy indebtedness to Jessup's research. Though he has had

the advantage of using some manuscript collections that were not available to Professor Jessup and differs in some points from the latter's conclusions, the differences do not seem to be of great significance.

Professor Leopold's small volume, in keeping with the series to which it belongs, is an interpretation rather than a full-length portrait. Aside from shedding some valuable sidelights on Root's personality, it deals almost exclusively with his part in public affairs. Root's adherence to the "conservative tradition," which is emphasized throughout, did not handicap him in his service as Secretary of War (1899-1904) and Secretary of State (1905-1909), but, as senator from New York (1909-15) and as prominent private citizen and elder statesman thereafter, he often stood in opposition to the trend of his age. A constructive period was, therefore, followed by one of comparative frustration. Positive achievements were few after 1909. He supported Wilson in the repeal of the Panama Canal Tolls Act. He helped draft the statute of the World Court. He was a useful member of the American delegation at the Washington Conference of 1921-22. What else? He was the principal author in 1915 of a new constitution for the state of New York, which the voters rejected. He proposed the plan of getting the United States into a League of Nations made safe by reservations, a plan defeated by the intransigence of Wilson and the irreconcilables. He devised the "Root formula" for American entry into the World Court, which the Senate eventually refused to take. For his constructive work one must go back to his years in the cabinet, his terms in the War Department, where he worked out the details of a colonial system for the United States and reorganized the army from top to bottom, and in the State Department, where he did much to make the United States a "good neighbor" to both Latin America and Canada.

This is a well-organized, well-written, and scholarly book. Scholars, in the reviewer's opinion, would be better pleased with it if the editor of the series had permitted occasional footnotes. It is tantalizing to be told that "Some historians, however, believe . . ." or "At this point reports of what happened vary . . .," and then to be left guessing at the identity of historians and reports. In writing (p. 59) ". . . the Senate has never consented to go beyond the Root formula [for arbitration treaties]," the author seemingly overlooks acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court in August, 1946. The statement (p. 143), "Seven votes stood between the United States and membership in the League of Nations," rests upon the hardly tenable assumption that Wilson would have ratified the treaty with the Lodge reservations. Aside from a few such minor points as these, it is difficult to find fault with Professor Leopold's performance.

University of Buffalo

JULIUS W. PRATT

GEORGE N. PEEK AND THE FIGHT FOR FARM PARITY. By *Gilbert C. Fite*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 314. \$4.00.)

THIS is much more than the story of one man. It is the vital chronicle of an important period of re-examination of and definitive change in one part of our national economic institutions. Professor Fite has diligently combed public records and private papers to bring together a historical document that is both authentic and alive. The rich detail of incident, needed by the serious student, would be almost overwhelming to the general reader, but the author has handled his materials with a skill that keeps the many strands from tangling and that keeps the reader conscious of a growing pattern of development.

George Peek was an industrial executive whose farm implement business was a casualty of the post-World War I farm depression (and some dubious managerial judgment). From personal experience he derived a poignant sense of the indispensability of farm prosperity to national economic soundness. His business background also gave him some oversimplified hunches as to how such prosperity might be brought about. Peek was not only the outstanding leader of the crusade that, after more than a decade, culminated in the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933; he was also the first administrator of that act, for which post he was fundamentally disqualified by the very qualities that made for success in the crusade. After seven months he was displaced.

Electing to tell his story in terms of its dynamic leader, Professor Fite incurred the risk of portraying a vast social movement as the shadow cast by this man. But whilst he stresses the indispensable value of Peek's personal contribution to a movement, he frankly reveals limitations in the quality of the man's equipment for sound guidance. He was an ingrained isolationist, a domineering company executive or government administrator, opinionated, insubordinate, and resentful, but withal extravagant in giving of his labor and his fortune to a purpose from which he could not possibly reap personal gain. As to the movement itself, Professor Fite's indefatigable marshaling of pro and con arguments and attitudes gives the reader the first-hand material on which to make his own evaluations. Instead of a contrast of jet black and pure white, we are given the amazing variety of shadings of gray out of which the whole picture of social change emerges.

Having said all this as to the scholarly qualities of this book, I must express an uneasy suspicion that while the scholar was busy elsewhere—no doubt with his teaching chores—a nasty little gremlin sneaked into his study one day and got access to his manuscript. This alien sprite wrote in a number of colorful words and phrases extraneous to the objective narrative being unfolded—such as “frantic opposition,” “bitter attack,” “laissez faire attitudes toward agriculture”—“prejudice against the farmer's cause,” “blinded to reason” (Hoover), “vitriolic veto message” (Coolidge). At such points one gets a momentary impression, foreign to the book as a whole, that Professor Fite is himself carrying the torch for the farmer's cause—that cause being synonymous with what the farmer wanted or felt would exorcise his difficulties.

Washington, D.C.

EDWIN G. NOURSE

SECRETARY STIMSON: A STUDY IN STATECRAFT. By *Richard N. Current*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 272. \$4.50.)

THIS is not a biography. It is a critical analysis of Stimson's participation in foreign affairs (1906-1945) at such junctures as he was, successively, United States attorney for the southern district of New York under Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary of War under Taft, colonel of artillery in World War I, special agent in Nicaragua and governor general of the Philippines under Coolidge, Secretary of State under Hoover, and Secretary of War under F. D. Roosevelt and Truman. He is carried rapidly through the first two of his four busy decades, wherein he moved to press the Panama suits against the *New York World*, to violate Mexican sovereignty, to kill the League of Nations first and to use it afterwards, to supervise Latin-American political outcomes and to teach the Filipinos the lessons of British imperial policy.

The analysis of the last two decades stresses the "Stimson Doctrine" of non-recognition used as a preliminary to economic and military sanctions "laying down the ideological basis for eventual war" (p. 113). This use Stimson could not sell to Hoover, who sought to use nonrecognition as a moral substitute for economic pressure and military sanctions, looking to peace. Meeting more success with F. D. Roosevelt, Stimson argued that economic sanctions would stop Japanese military advance and preserve peace. Disappointment in this prediction did not weaken his abundant faith in "aggressive self-assertion for the nation as well as the individual" (p. 10); he urged a declaration of war before Japan attacked, felt relieved by her attack although concerned to clear himself of blame for the Pearl Harbor disaster, and moved vigorously into a very broad interpretation of "military necessity" throughout the war.

Assailed by few doubts, he was not naturally disposed to consider thoughtful alternatives to vigorous action—to speculate whether a pledge that the Japanese might retain their sacred emperor might bring their surrender before more drastic action, or whether insistence upon unconditional surrender might help to create a vacuum into which communism could flow, or whether the job of policing the postwar world might prove hard even for the strong sinews of Uncle Sam. His basic consistency, despite many inconsistencies, says Current, was belief in peace through force.

Current queries whether Stimson had a full measure of the integrity, wisdom, and selflessness attributed to him by notable associates, and whether his actual legacy to the oncoming generation is not, indeed, sharpened aggravation of international tensions. In emphasis and interpretation there may be many to moderate Current's vigorous indictment; yet the historical evidence he marshals and the international trends rampant in the 1950's guarantee that his queries will be very seriously considered. In the far future, historians may perhaps approximate that cool detachment presently unattainable and conclude that Stimson was as much

the creature of his environment as creator of it. His greatest significance, to this reviewer, rests in the fact that a person of his mental and emotional characteristics was repeatedly acceptable to American administrations.

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

INTERNATIONALES JAHRBUCH FÜR GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT. Band II. (Brunswick, Albert Limbach, 1953, pp. 391.) The current volume of the international year book devoted to the teaching of history seeks to further the aims of co-operation by historians and history teachers across national frontiers. In recent years there have been Franco-German conferences in Paris and Mainz, Danish-German co-operation on the Schleswig-Holstein problem, an American-German conference in Brunswick, and a UNESCO seminar on history teaching at Sèvres. The content is mainly in German, but there is much material in English and some essays in French and Spanish. Lucien Febvre and François Crouzet explore lucidly the international foundations of French culture, while other writers discuss problems of teaching history in Mexico, England, the United States, and France. There are essays on some phases of Franco-German and Danish-German relations in the past. The major part of the book is devoted to the proceedings of a conference of American and German historians and history teachers, May 12-23, 1952, at Brunswick. The recommendations of both groups regarding the improvement of the teaching of history are recorded. Of special significance is the section in which Germans review American textbooks in history and Americans review German texts. It must be confessed that the German reviews are more thorough, more painstaking, and more critically penetrating, but often less balanced and less objective than the reviews by the Americans. The remainder of this interesting and informative volume contains reports of various historical conferences in several countries. It is easy to gain the impression that the historical profession in Europe is seriously concerned with the problems of elevating the teaching of history to standards not hitherto reached with respect to international understanding. It would have been helpful to learn to what extent these efforts are meeting with acceptance or resistance. Be that as it may, this volume and its successors should prove enlightening on some aspects, at least, of the status of history teaching in several countries.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, *New York University*

LE XVI^e SIÈCLE VU PAR LES AMBASSADEURS VÉNITIENS. By *Orestes Ferrara*. Translated from the Spanish by *Francis de Miomandre*. (Paris, Albin Michel, 1954, pp. 596, 980 fr.) This substantial volume lies somewhere between popularization of a high order and large-scale scholarly synthesis, and it has some of the qualities of both. Its title, which faithfully translates that of the original Spanish edition (Madrid, 1952), is misleading: the book is primarily concerned with political and diplomatic events; and it deals, after some scrutiny of the New Monarchies, merely with the period from the first French invasion of Italy to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Nor (fortunately) is the book's view of history limited by the particular vantage points of the Venetian ambassadors, whose *Relazioni* would seem, in any case, to be already among the best known sources of European history. The author has woven the judgments of the Venetian observers into his text wherever possible, occasionally quoting at considerable length, and he seems excessively respectful of their authority. But for the most part he uses these and other sources to illustrate or to lend a flavor of authenticity to his story. Except on particular points, the book is thus not a reconstruction based on the sources but a detailed narrative based on a varying acquaintance with recent scholarship. The main outlines of its subject are familiar enough, but the account is presented here with grace, with the insight and authority of long

study, and with a wealth of new and colorful detail. Among the special qualities of the author's treatment one may note his profound disapproval of Charles V, his tendency always to place the most favorable construction on papal policy, and his marked interest in legal questions. Ferrara is at his best when he is sketching the broad outlines of a diplomatic situation or untangling the confused strands of negotiation. He is less satisfactory when he moves beyond the narrow limits of diplomacy and political intrigue; where broad generalization is required, he retreats into the familiar clichés of the popular Renaissance. The historian may be disconcerted by the book's great concern with the dramatization of personalities and episodes, its occasional rhetorical frivolity and other traits of popular history; but he will find also an attractive and comprehensive account such as is available nowhere else.

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA, *University of Illinois*

CATHERINE THE GREAT AND OTHER STUDIES. By G. P. Gooch. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1954, pp. xi, 292, \$5.00.) G. P. Gooch has long been esteemed for his studies of Frederick II and Maria Theresa. His new volume, apart from the inexplicable inclusion of an irrelevant and unremarkable essay on Bismarck's *Erinnerungen*, is devoted entirely to the eighteenth century. It completes a distinguished portrait trilogy of the three most celebrated "enlightened despots." Other essays, which, like that on Catherine II, have in large part previously appeared in periodicals, explore the Enlightenment in a lively account of the foremost Parisian salons of the mid-1700's, those of Mmes. Geoffrin, du Deffand, Necker, and Mlle. de L'Espinasse. The enormous influence exerted on European intellectual life by this feminine quartet is made altogether intelligible. And finally, the author moves into an analysis of the historical writing of that most brilliant ornament of his time, Voltaire. Professor Gooch's portrait of Catherine II does not break new ground; but rarely has a more fascinating picture of this extraordinary woman been drawn. That she restored the authority of the throne and engaged in a highly successful foreign policy is well known; that she succeeded, further, through her contacts with the Enlightenment of the West in removing some of the stigma of barbarism associated with Russia, is, perhaps, less appreciated. Certainly, much of her work remained in one form or another until 1917; some of this work even survives to the present in its own peculiar Soviet guise. Dr. Gooch tempers his admiration for the tsarina, however. Whether Catherine had any real grasp of the larger underlying forces of her age is doubtful. The forces producing a Pugachev she could not comprehend; while the French Revolution, a product of the very principles she professed to admire, was for her senseless anarchy. She talked Rousseau, but could not really understand his famous thesis that a government might lose the respect of its people and thus forfeit its claim to survive. A few of these pages may occasionally cloy. After all, the story of Catherine's twenty-one "favorites" has worn a trifle thin. But in the end Professor Gooch is hard to resist. He writes in the great tradition of Hazlitt and Douglas with an urbanity, wit, and felicity of phrase which, happily, will only further confound those who identify scholarship with pedantry.

DOUGLAS K. READING, *Colgate University*

NAPOLÉON AND THE AWAKENING OF EUROPE. By F. M. H. Markham, Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. vii, 184, \$2.00.) This volume, edited by A. L. Rowse, is part of the "Teach Yourself History Library," which "has been planned to meet the needs and demands of a very wide public" and is intended "by way of a biography of a great man to open up a significant historical theme" with authorship by "people of good

academic standards" (p. vi). It is a small, compact, clearly written book, definitely for the general reader, not the trained specialist. It is based largely on secondary sources, intelligently used. It contains a short bibliography stressing available works in English and a brief index generally limited to names of persons and places. On the debit side it may be said that in places it is too compact. For example, it may be doubted whether the general reader will get anything out of the brief discussions of the various Napoleonic constitutions. Nor, in this particular case as presented in this book, does an individual provide a successful opening to the period, particularly one entitled, "the awakening of Europe." It would seem that more might have been made of that subject. On the larger, credit side may be mentioned the balanced, reasonable treatment of Napoleon himself, neither adulation nor unreasoning condemnation but what appears to be a just recognition of both virtues and accomplishments and faults and failures. The military campaigns are described very clearly with an explanation of their social as well as their political significance. Many of the generalizations—a book of this size must, of course, deal largely in generalizations—seem quite apt, for example the discussion of whether Napoleon consolidated or repudiated the Revolution (p. 63). While designed for the general reader, the book never tries to attract by use of the sensational or even picturesque. It should be helpful to the intelligent layman and to the student of other periods of history who want to learn about the skeleton, not the brass buttons, of the Napoleonic period.

GEORGE WOODBRIDGE, *Thomaston, Connecticut*

DER WIENER KONGRESS UND DIE EUROPÄISCHE RESTAURATION 1814-15.

By *Karl Griewank*. (2d ed.; Leipzig, Kochler & Amelang, 1954, pp. 406, DM 10.50.)

Efforts of the powers to redraw the map of Europe frequently inspire historians to examine earlier delimitations. For the information of the British delegation to Paris in 1919 Sir Charles Webster wrote the best book on the peacemaking of 1813-1815. In 1942 Professor Griewank presented a new German political history of European boundary drawing from 1813 to 1815, based on diplomatic materials in Prussian, Austrian, and French archives and on standard published sources and scholarship. Half the book describes the negotiations at Vienna on problems of central Europe which he considers most important and most difficult. In 1942 he attributed his investigation to "the responsibility with which the German historian today has to see and to set forth the problems of ordering Europe in the past." He summarized his position, and then ended the book, in popular jargon: "on the formative force of its leading peoples a continent must arise significantly organized around its center and without the participation of powers foreign to its spaces." That view remains. While the author traces the emergence of a central European structure out of the divergent efforts of the five great powers, "the European oligarchy," he emphasizes the importance of Metternich and Castlereagh. In their work he sees, not without occasional inconsistency, the establishment of English supremacy on the Continent and in the world. Although in detailing German nationalist views on the peacemaking he gives some good marks to Metternich and especially to Austrians such as Stadion, he sympathizes with ambitions of the Prussian military and political leaders, which he has studied earlier. In a powerful Prussia he sees "a point of crystallization for new ordering in central Europe." Many of the extensive additions to the original text elaborate on German nationalist interests. The author, now of Jena, has also emended frequently and sometimes mollified statements. Thus, the "imperialist" desires of Russia become "special" desires, and the terms of discussion for Jewish problems change a bit. Finally, one reader regrets that the book still lacks an index.

D. E. EMERSON, *University of Washington*

RELAZIONI FRA L'ITALIA E GLI STATI UNITI. By Howard R. Marraro. [Quaderni del Risorgimento, 6.] (Rome, Ateneo, 1954, pp. 317, L.1600.) Composing this volume is the series of lectures delivered by Professor Marraro at the Scuola di Storia del Risorgimento of the University of Rome during his recent tenure of a visiting lectureship under Fulbright auspices. The University of Rome acknowledged Professor Marraro's contribution in a most generous manner by publishing the lectures in honor of Columbia University's Bicentennial. The purpose of these lectures was to introduce the Italian student to the history of American-Italian relations from the eighteenth century to the unification of Italy in 1870. The material describing the contacts between the two peoples is divided for convenience into three categories: (1) the diplomatic relations between the various Italian states and the American government; (2) the cultural relations as reflected in the appearance of the Italian language and literature in American schools, in the acceptance of Italian plays and music, and, briefly, in the activity of Italian refugees, immigrants, and exiles in the New York area during the first half of the nineteenth century; and (3) the American reaction to the Italian struggle for independence as reflected in the press, literature, etc., of the period. A long appendix is included reproducing the poems written by Americans such as Whittier, William Cullen Bryant, and Bayard Taylor honoring the efforts of the Italian patriots during the various phases of the wars for independence. Much of the material for the diplomatic relations between the United States and the Italian states is taken from Marraro's splendid two-volume compilation, *The Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies* (see *AHR*, LIX, [January, 1954], 348-49) and from his earlier publications in the same field. The degree to which Americans were interested in the Risorgimento is astonishing in the light of the flood of poems and prose dedicated to Italian patriots and to the Italian cause. Equally revealing is the affection and esteem in which Garibaldi was held by the Americans during his short sojourn in the United States. These lectures introduce a novel and, I dare say, extremely effective way of presenting America to foreigners. It is to be regretted that, in the question of cultural relations, the role of the Italians in America as it affects Italo-American relations is limited, with few exceptions, to that of the Italians on the eastern seaboard. The whole field of early immigration into the central valley and to the Far West remains to be thoroughly explored for virtually every phase of human relationship.

GEORGE A. CARBONE, *University of Mississippi*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

ANCIENT HISTORY OF WESTERN ASIA, INDIA, AND CRETE. By Bedrich Hrozný, Professor of Oriental Languages and History at the Charles University, Prague. Translated by Jindřich Procházka. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1953, pp. xiv, 260, \$12.00.) The need for good popularizations of the results of scholarly research in the field of ancient Near Eastern history has often been stressed. An "ancient history" by the late Professor Hrozný, well known for his contributions to the decipherment of the Hittite cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts, would be expected to go far in satisfying this need. That the results are somewhat wide of the mark must be attributed to his predominate interest in languages rather than in history. By far the longest chapters in this work summarize his attempt to decipher the Proto-Indian and Cretan scripts. His method and results, neither of which has been accepted by the great majority of linguistic scholars, have influenced and circumscribed his views of ancient Near Eastern history. His method rests upon the ethnical and linguistic relationships of the peoples concerned, and, as though to promote the understanding and acceptance of his linguistic views, his historical account is narrowly political and ethnical in emphasis. For this reason, the history of Indo-European peoples is stressed—he believes both the original Cretans and Proto-Indians to have been ethnically and linguistically Indo-European—Egyptian history is not considered and he ends his historical account at the end of the second millennium B.C. with the collapse of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Despite such limitations, this work is of value as a general history of western Asia from palcolithic times to 1200 B.C. Professor Hrozný's wide historical and linguistic knowledge illuminates the account of the migrations and interrelationships of the numerous peoples involved, and wherever his views are novel they are proposed with all due reserve. His treatment of political history is complete and compact; he appears to have mentioned all known rulers and to have summarized concisely all important facts concerning them. His discussion of Sumero-Babylonian civilization in one short chapter is too sketchy to be of much value, but there is a longer and more adequate discussion of Hittite civilization. The

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

long chapter on the Cretans is exclusively ethnical and linguistic, while that on the Proto-Indians is broadened by adding a description of the archaeological finds at Mohenjo-Daro. The volume is well illustrated with 144 figures and 10 plates, some of which are colored. Footnotes are few, but the text contains frequent references to scholarly literature. The chronology followed is that of Sidney Smith. There are two excellent maps and a full index.

NELS M. BAILKEY, *Tulane University*

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. Supplementary Volume, THE INDUS CIVILIZATION. By Sir *Mortimer Wheeler*, Sometime Director-General of Archaeology in India. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 98, 24 plates, \$3.75.) In 1950, the Penguin Books published Stuart Piggott's excellent *Prehistoric India*, in which the Indus Valley or Harappan civilization was treated within its context in an account of the whole pre- and protohistoric development of India (as the eastern flank of a generalized Middle Eastern culture area). Now comes R. E. M. Wheeler's highly perceptive study of the Indus civilization itself. Wheeler is a master of archaeological craftsmanship in the field, a scholar with an active and imaginative mind, and a lucid writer. He has himself carried on excavations at the two key Indus Valley sites, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, in which he brilliantly succeeded in bringing considerable order to what was a degree of chaos left by earlier excavations. The result is a very good book. The Indus Valley civilization, which Wheeler tentatively brackets between 2500 and 1500 B.C., still seems "to spring into being fully grown." Wheeler believes "it is legitimate to affirm that the *idea* of civilization came to the land of the Indus from the land of the Twin Rivers, whilst recognizing that the essential self-sufficiency of each of the two civilizations induced a strongly localized and specialized cultural expression of that idea in each region." Actually, in what Professor Kroeber would call "style," the Indus and Mesopotamian civilizations are quite different. Wheeler thus lays his finger on one of the central problems of culture-historical reconstruction: How are we to understand the transmission of disembodied ideas?

ROBERT J. BRAIDWOOD, *University of Chicago*

CULTS AND CREEDS IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT. By *H. Idris Bell*. Being the Forwood Lectures for 1952. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1953, pp. x, 117, \$4.75.) Clement of Alexandria once remarked that pagan "philosophy, acting as a guide, prepared the way for Christianity." An eminent British papyrologist now adds to the full story by revealing how pagan religious beliefs, illustrated in the papyri of Greco-Roman Egypt, likewise facilitated the Christian triumph. The publication of these four revised but unexpanded lectures represents another of Mr. Bell's successful attempts to present the results of scholarly research to the general reader. His main interest here is "the mental world of the average man" in ancient Egypt as viewed against the backdrop of pagan and Christian intellectual and religious development. The specialist also will find useful this concise and provocative treatment of the Christian background and the large number of footnotes added primarily for him. The first lecture ("The Pagan Amalgam") is introductory, while the final lecture on "The Christian Triumph" is a brief survey of Egyptian Christianity to the time of Constantine with reference to the papyri only in connection with the growth of the Christian community. The two middle lectures ("The Jews in Egypt" and "The Preparation for Christianity") represent the heart of Mr. Bell's contribution. The papyri reveal much concerning the size and extent of Jewish communities in Egypt, their relations with other inhabitants and the Ptolemaic and Roman rulers, and changes in their religious beliefs and practices. With respect to the preparation for Christianity the papyri reflect "an increasing superstition and credulity" which Bell

considers to be "not a decay of religion but rather a new orientation of the religious consciousness" which, by emphasizing "a more personal relationship to the deity" and by a syncretism which reduced all deities "to varying manifestations of one divine principle," paved the way for Christianity (p. 65). There is a full index, a select bibliography for nonspecialists, and a list of the cited standard editions of the papyrus texts.

NELS M. BAILKEY, *Tulane University*

SOPHOCLES AND PERICLES. By *Victor Ehrenberg*. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1954, pp. xi, 187, 25s.) This book is a study of "the relations between the two greatest men in the greatest period of Athenian history" (p. 1). The conclusion is that Sophocles and Pericles, though by no means enemies, still represented opposing tendencies, or two aspects of the greatness of Athens. Pericles stood for rationalism, humanism, progress, Sophocles for religion and the preservation of values proved sound; though in private life it was Sophocles who was the humane and human good companion, Pericles who remained remote and Olympian. Both men were Athenian through and through, and in their unqualified love for Athens the opposition is, in part, reconciled. Thus, perhaps, Ehrenberg's conclusions may be restated, oversimply, of course, but even he is forced to oversimplify. His interpretation of Sophocles is open to attack. He must assume that he had some kind of program. The poet's claim that he represents men "as they ought to be" is taken to mean that he "wanted to teach something," "that his heroes were to be 'models' of behavior" (pp. 158-59; better stated, p. 20). It is equally likely (I think more likely) that Sophocles merely meant that he created tragic heroes as tragic heroes ought to be created, but, whatever he meant, could anyone seriously model his behavior on that of Sophocles' Ajax, Creon, Heracles, or for that matter Oedipus himself or Electra? And if we cannot so press it, does the phrase "model of behavior" mean anything at all? Again, as to the religiousness of Sophocles, Ehrenberg rather steps around *Trachinians* and *Electra*, which offer some difficulty. His restoration of Pericles is hard to quarrel with. The tyranny-in-democracy, the absorption in Athens (rather than Athenians!), above all, the magnificent integrity of the man, have not been better stated. It is, I think, simplification, not wrong-headedness, that makes Ehrenberg speak as if there were never any respectable opposition to Pericles, and all who crossed him on political grounds were "oligarchs" (p. 82, see also pp. 86, 129, 138, 140). Then, too, simplification leads into queer positions. It is Socrates, the "rationalist," who took Antigone's line of "I must do this, you can not stop me" and died for it (mentioned, p. 162; but understood?). Despite all this, I think Ehrenberg is right in his main thesis and antithesis. *Oedipus Tyrannus*, which starts with plague, is the intellectuals' tragedy as well as the tyrant's tragedy. "Sophocles stood for the old Polis, and with Pericles began its dissolution" (p. 164). I agree, though not everyone will. Whatever anyone may think of such matters, this is a stimulating book.

RICHMOND LATTIMORE, *Bryn Mawr College*

DER AUFBAU VON SALLUSTS BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. By *Karl Büchner*. [Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie, Einzelschriften, Heft 9.] (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1953, pp. 104, DM 9.) Sallust's importance in the development of Roman historiography, and his services in raising the literary level of history, have drawn a number of scholars, especially in Germany, to investigate the composition and literary structure of his works. It is plain to most students that Sallust constructed his works in large dramatic divisions or "acts." There has, however, been disagreement as to the divisions and their significance; and Professor Büchner, who is well known for his other studies of Roman literature and Roman political thought,

has contributed yet another analysis because he feels that not enough attention has been paid to the literary devices which Sallust employs to mark off his literary divisions. The author believes that these devices are more plainly visible in the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, in which Sallust was more sure of his material and his purpose, than in the earlier *Bellum Catilinae*; thus the study of the "Jugurtha" will throw light on the literary technique of the "Catilina." Most of the monograph consists of a detailed analysis of the text in which all aspects of its dramatic, literary, and historical composition are carefully examined, and the results are discussed in their bearing on Sallust's value as a source. The author concludes that although Sallust is not strictly accurate in his reporting of events, he produces a result which is closer to the real truth than a work would be which merely registered the events as they occurred. There is an appendix on the problem of the chronological distribution of the events of the various years of the war, and another excursus on the structure of the "Catilina."

G. DOWNEY, *Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks*

IL PRINCEPS CICERONIANO E GLI IDEALI POLITICI DELLA TARDA REPUBBLICA. By *Ettore Lepore*. (Naples, Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1954, pp. 448, L. 2500.) There have been numerous efforts to expound the nature of the Ciceronian concept of the *princeps*, particularly with regard to the *De Republica*. Two interesting lines of endeavor are (1) to analyze the relationship of Cicero's political theory to Greek thought and (2) to try to ascertain any possible advocacy of monarchy by Cicero, with Cicero as the possible theorist for the Augustan principate before the event. The subject, by now fairly hackneyed, is redeemed in the case of the present book by the fact that the author has undertaken his investigation along broader lines than have his predecessors—semantically, politically, philosophically, historically, and in the light of an analysis of Cicero's postconsular career. It is an elaborate book, with comparisons with Platonic and Aristotelian theory, etc. A brief review cannot do justice to Lepore's careful development of his argument, with his useful collection and exposition of ancient passages. Lepore appreciates the fact that Cicero was a thoroughly intellectual man, more interested in theory than were many of his contemporaries, but still quite definitely a practicing politician and a practical statesman. Cicero was theorizing within the social structure of Rome as he knew it, and this book shows how Cicero's views on statecraft grew and altered in the course of his career. There were of course Hellenic influences behind his ideals, but it is noteworthy that Cicero was thinking within the framework of the Roman constitutional history and idea of liberty. Lepore decides that Cicero was not substantiating monarchy but that he was putting a new meaning into the traditionally Roman word of *princeps*, which can be identified in Cicero with the *consilii publici auctor ac senator bonus* as well as with the *prudens vir*, the *rector* or *moderator rei publicae*, or even the *princeps libertatis*. Cicero's stress is upon individual initiative and responsibility, upon *auctoritas* as opposed to the resources (*opes*) and personal power (*potentia*) which were supposed to be the usual political supports of Rome's governmental aristocracy. Cicero was in search of a *summorum civium principatus*, not a justification for "Pompey's principate" or the future Augustan principate.

WALTER ALLEN, JR., *University of North Carolina*

ÜBER RÖMISCHES RECHT IM RAHMEN DER KULTURGESCHICHTE. By *Eberhard F. Bruck*. (Berlin, Springer, 1954, pp. viii, 168.) At a time when the conflict between executive and legislative powers unfolds once again in our republic it seems particularly opportune to bring to the attention of the American reader a

much neglected area of juridical studies, i.e., those devoted to Roman law. For a long time this gap in the realm of American scholarship has been keenly felt. Men like Charles McIlwain long called in vain for a general reappraisal of the common law against the background of Roman law. Of late there has been some revival. At Harvard, E. Bruck devoted many years to research and teaching in that field. This slender volume of previously published essays is an amusing testimonial of the contemporary—and, let us hope, not temporary—reversal of past conditions. One can merely hint at the wealth of stimulating and thought-provoking material here so eloquently and elegantly presented. The first essay most pertinently discusses the technique of aristocratic political leadership within the framework of a quasi-democratic constitution. A transition from the politico-religious area to the one in which the author for many years has most happily added to our understanding, i.e., the concept of the *donatio* both between living persons and by testament, is represented by the second essay. The conflict between the *ius civile* and the *ius sacrum* forms the basis of this study. It rightly shows that sociological and economic, as well as intellectual, changes precede by many years the open recognition of such conflicts in the realm of law. Perhaps the most important section of the volume is the third essay, a masterly summary of the religious, intellectual, and political evolution of the principle of donations for (not only by) deceased persons, showing the Greek background of a legal technique by which through testament the donors successfully kept their memory alive. The institution of the *donatio* is further analyzed, from a different angle, in the chapter entitled, "Paulus, die Kirchenväter und der 'Fröhliche Geber' im römischen Recht: *Liberalitas* und *Animus donandi*." The pagan Greco-Roman gentlemanly attitude of the "proper" or the "noblesse oblige" motivation is contrasted with the Judaeo-Christian insistence on "joyous" giving, but it was not until the reign of Justinian I (527–565) that this viewpoint infiltrated successfully into Roman law when *piae causae* formed the wedge for a more general recognition of the "joyous" spirit in giving. "Das Gespenst des Fröhlichen Gebers im mittelalterlichen und modernen Zivilrecht" continues this investigation into the period of the vulgar and early Byzantine law.

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Medieval History

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DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 7. Edited for the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, Washington, D.C., by the Committee on Publications. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 141, \$7.50.) The present volume contains four essays, the first three of which are concerned with Byzantine iconoclasm. In the first essay Gerhart B. Ladner has traced in brilliant fashion the idea of the image (*eikōn*), from early Christian theology and Platonic metaphysics down to the doctrines of St. John of Damascus, the fathers of the second Council of Nicaea (A.D. 787), and the intransigent Theodore of Studion. Ladner also emphasizes the close connection between the use of the imperial image in the pagan emperor-cult and the later Christian adoration of the emperor on the one hand and, on the other, the use of the image of Christ (and the Virgin and saints) in early Christian art and worship. Paul J. Alexander has sought, in the second article, to show something of the original and constructive thought which the initiators of the second period of iconoclasm brought to the movement (815-843), which Alexander regards as "the philosophical climax of the entire [iconoclastic] Controversy" (p. 37). Most writers have regarded the second period of iconoclasm as the willful and intellectually exhausted repetition of the first period (725-787). The iconoclastic Council of 815 emphasized, however, that pictorial representations of Christ and the saints were "spurious images" (*pseudonymoi eikōnes*), but spurious in a different sense from that meant by this term at the famous Council of Hieria in 754, the true image being in fact only the spiritual imitation of the virtues of Christ and the saints—an icon so to speak to be seen only in the heart by the mind's eye—for the true image of Christ is to be discerned only in the human soul, i.e., in man himself when he has attained to the saintly virtues. Following the views of Fr. George Florovsky, Alexander associates this idea with Origenism (cf. *Contra Celsum*, VIII, 17-18). Alexander also publishes, as an appendix, a new edition of the "definition" of the Council of 815, which is an improvement over

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

those of the late Daniel Serruys and Professor Ostrogorsky (pp. 58-66). The third essay, by Fr. Francis Dvornik, supplies some lively and interesting illustrations of the survival of iconoclasm beyond the events of 843 (celebrated in the Byzantine Feast of Orthodoxy); Dvornik shows his good friend, the Patriarch Photius, as the stalwart champion of image-worship against the iconoclasts of the later ninth century and even as the instigator of the redecoration of churches with icons. In the last article Deno J. Geanakoplos sketches the diplomatic background to the very important battle of Pelagonia (in western Macedonia), fought apparently in October of 1259. Geanakoplos gives also detailed analyses of the sources relating both to this diplomacy and to the battle. Although the reviewer has found himself in disagreement with some of Geanakoplos' assumptions, the article is very useful and reveals a thorough knowledge of the subject. The volume itself is, as usual in this series, very handsome. It ought to be: it costs \$7.50.

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LE ROYAUME LATIN DE JÉRUSALEM. By *Jean Richard*, Ancien membre de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Preface by *René Grousset*. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1953, pp. 367, 800 fr.) Jean Richard has presented, as René Grousset states in the preface to the volume, a critical survey of the crusades, which embodies the results of recent scholarship, a study "long lacking and hoped for." Since Röhrich's basic work, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (1897) many specialists in this field have uncovered additional facts, especially from Arabic and Syrian sources, while M. Richard himself has had access to new materials in the Vatican and has further utilized the late studies of Orientalists, which open a vista into the important and rather overlooked Asiatic background of the crusades. The contributions of American scholars, especially those of John La Monte, have received careful attention, as have recent studies of Bréhier, Abel, Vincent, Cahen, and others. The book consists of three parts, divided into twenty-seven chapters, containing mainly a succinct review of the military and political developments of the kingdom of Jerusalem (with only incidental references to Antioch, Tripoli, and Edessa). While these chapters repeat in general the material found in Röhrich, Stevenson, and Grousset, there are even here valuable additions and interpretations, which justify the author (as he states in the introduction) in hoping that he has added some new facts to the knowledge of the Latin Orient, and, one may add, many stimulating sidelights. To the reviewer the most valuable chapters deal with economic, social, and religious developments. On these points much effort has been expended in recent years and the results have been based to a certain extent on conjecture, as is clear from the numerous question marks. Unfortunately this can not be avoided because the sources are very scanty. Several chapters deal with feudal relations and royal power, one with the Latin Church and the fairly tolerant attitude toward other religious groups, others with the military orders, another with the relations between merchants and rural proprietors (*bourgeois et colons*), one deals with the position of the native population, another of the state within the state of the Italian merchants, and one traces the contacts with Mongols and Mameluks. Since the book does not follow a chronological pattern, an index would enhance its value. It certainly is a study which will be welcomed by all students of the crusades.

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LOS FUEROS DE SEPÚLVEDA. By *Emilio Sáez*, *Rafael Gibert*, *Manuel Alvar*, and *A. G. Ruiz-Zorrilla*. With a Prologue by *P. Marín Pérez*. [Publicaciones históricas de la excma. Diputación Provincial de Segovia. Serie 1a. Colección de documentos

para la historia de Segovia, Vol. I.] (Segovia, 1953, pp. lii, 923, 23 plates.) Sáez' critical edition of these influential Latin and Romance municipal codes, with exhaustive institutional, linguistic, and topographic commentaries by his collaborators, constitutes a major contribution to the literature of medieval Castilian urban history.

C. J. BISHKO, *University of Virginia*

THE RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE: LAURENTIAN TEXT. Translated and edited by *Samuel Hazzard Cross* and *Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor*. [Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 60.] (Cambridge, the Academy, 1953, pp. 313, \$5.00.) As explained in the preface by Professor Sherbowitz-Wetzor this translation of an important Slavic source is based on the English version published by the late Professor S. H. Cross in Volume XII (1930) of the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*. The new edition incorporates the original introductory article by Professor Cross and a revised translation of the Chronicle. It also includes commentaries on the text which Professor Cross accumulated after the publication of 1930, a selected bibliography, a table of the princes in the main principalities, a genealogical table of the House of Rurik, and an index of names. Each page of the Chronicle is now conveniently dated at the top. The Russian names and titles are transliterated, although the use of "ě" as in "Slov'ěv" (p. 39) or "Ob'ěm" (p. 220) is not explained. The editor also fails to explain the not self-evident abbreviation "Spb" which he rightly uses instead of Leningrad in mentioning books published before the First World War. The original translation of the Chronicle represented quite a remarkable achievement but was not faultless. The present edition has eliminated a great many errors, inaccuracies, and omissions; however, one notices occasional editorial oversights. On page 51 "Rhinocolura" is rightly changed to "Rhinocurura," the missing "and the other Libya" is inserted, but the missing "Pisidia" is still left out. On page 220 one finds both "pověst'" and "povest'," "lēt" and "let," "Fedoseva" instead of "Fedos'eva," and also the title of Istrin's book erroneously transcribed. Incidentally, the full title of this book in the selected bibliography (p. 291) contains five errors. These and other editorial slips detract somewhat from the value of a work which otherwise has shown many improvements over the earlier edition.

GEORGE V. LANTZEFF, *University of California, Berkeley*

THE AGE OF THE STURLUNGS: ICELANDIC CIVILIZATION IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *Einar Ol. Sveinsson*, Professor of Icelandic Literature at the University of Iceland. Translated by *Jóhann S. Hannesson*. [Islandica: An Annual Relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic Collection in Cornell University Library, Volume XXXVI.] (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 180, cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.50.) Originally published in Icelandic in 1940, but here appearing for the first time in an English translation, this study by a distinguished Icelandic specialist in the field of Old Icelandic literature deals with an era which the author rightly describes as "not only one of the most fateful periods in the history of Iceland but also one of the most remarkable stages in the development of its culture." *The Age of the Sturlungs*, properly deriving its name from one of the great and highly gifted families which dominated the national scene in that day, was a turbulent and tragic age politically speaking, an era of bloody civil strife resulting in the submission of the Icelandic Commonwealth to a foreign power. Fortunately, there is a brighter and more attractive side to that period of gloom and national tragedy, for it was also an era notable for its literary and cultural activity, the age of Snorri Sturluson, Iceland's renowned historian, and of the nameless writers of the Icelandic sagas. The author strikes at the very heart of the matter in the follow-

ing characterization: "The contrast between conscious, disciplined cultural achievement and the frenzy of unrestrained vitality is the outstanding characteristic of the age and the riddle of its life." Through a penetrating interpretation of the many facets of that fateful but fascinating age, Dr. Einar Olafur Sveinsson brilliantly illuminates "the riddle of its life," to the extent that his book constitutes not only an excellent study of the period in question but also is an equally stimulating and revealing guide to the rich literature of thirteenth-century Iceland. The author is a master of a vivid and varied, often highly poetic style, which makes the task of the translator anything but easy. Mr. Hannesson has, however, succeeded admirably in that respect. He has also added a very useful index and genealogical tables which furnish needed orientation for the reader not versed in Icelandic family history, a basic factor in any account of the period. RICHARD BECK, *University of North Dakota*

THE RECEIPT OF THE EXCHEQUER, 1377-1485. By *Anthony Steel*, Principal of University College, Cardiff, and Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. xl, 501, \$11.50.) This book is the product of a quarter-century of research in the receipt rolls of the medieval English Exchequer. The title is perhaps misleading, since it is not a history of the institution, the Receipt of the Exchequer. Nor is it concerned with either the total income of the crown or the branches of the revenue. Rather Mr. Steel calls his achievement "a kind of calendar of the receipt rolls" (p. xvi). He gives us figures to show how much of the revenue on the receipt rolls, year by year, was real and how much nominal, how much cash and how much assigned on future income, what were genuine and what fictitious loans. Then, decade by decade, he analyzes the classes and individuals of the realm who were involved in these various transactions. From these analyses he draws political inferences. Most notably, he concludes that there was a steady decline in royal revenue over the century, and he suggests that neither Lancastrian nor Yorkist kings were ordinarily able to command sufficient financial support from their subjects. He also presents interesting new evidence concerning the payment of usury on loans to the crown. Mr. Steel is a worker in the field of administrative history. He is not interested in economic analysis, and his constitutional observations must remain tentative until other exchequer records can be studied in the same detail as the receipt rolls. Concerning administration, he himself questions whether the receipt rolls are a good measure of royal revenue under the Yorkists, and it may well be that the doubt should be extended back to 1399. There are still unsolved problems about the practice of assignment and fictitious loans, and the explanation of the *prestita restituta* given here is not completely satisfactory. Misunderstanding the role of the feoffees of the duchy of Lancaster has led to some minor errors. Although problems remain, Mr. Steel has done a number of useful things in this book. It will find its place on the shelf beside the works of Tout, Jenkinson, and Ramsay, which in part it supersedes.

FRED A. CAZEL, JR., *University of Connecticut*

LES AFFAIRES DE JACQUES COEUR: JOURNAL DU PROCUREUR DAUVET, PROCÈS-VERBAUX DE SÉQUESTRE ET D'ADJUDICATION. Volumes I and II. Edited by *M. Mollat*, Professeur à la Faculté de Lille, with the collaboration of *Anne-Marie Yvon-Briand*, *Yvonne Lanhers*, and *Constantin Marinesco*. [Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI^e section, Centre de recherches historiques, Affaires et gens d'affaires, 1, 2 bis.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1952, 1953, pp. xxiii, 387; 391-696.) The dramatic career of Jacques Coeur—merchant extraordinary, industrialist, financier, mine owner, shipping magnate, and as a result treasurer of the royal household,

master of the mint of Paris and Bourges, member of the king's council, friend of pontiffs, crusader—is appealing to our business-minded age. What little has been written about him, however, has for the most part been more fiction than fact. The publication of Dauvet's *Journal* now supplies us with a significant and needed primary source. Jean Dauvet was an active and devoted official of Charles VII and Louis XI whose chief work was as attorney general in charge of the confiscation and disposition of Coeur's property. This painstaking task occupied him for four years and took him to Tours, Blois, Orléans, Paris, Rouen, Berri, Langres, Languedoc, Lyonnais, and Bourbonnais. The *Journal* presents a wealth of material concerning Coeur's manifold activities. The present edition is definitive, having been edited by experienced scholars. The introduction is a model, and the bibliography is very helpful. There are superb indexes of persons, places, and terms. The thirteen-page table of contents comprises an excellent chronological summary of Dauvet's experiences. The *Journal* is a worthy addition to the scholarly series "Affaires et gens d'affaires" and will be of great value to the student of fifteenth-century France.

ERVING E. BEAUREGARD, *University of Dayton*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

THE NATION AND THE NAVY: A HISTORY OF NAVAL LIFE AND POLICY.

By Christopher Lloyd, Senior Lecturer, Royal Naval College, Greenwich. (London, Cresset Press; New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. xiii, 288, \$3.75.) Lloyd is the third Greenwich historian to produce a compact, readable volume of British naval history in the past thirty years. In 1924 Geoffrey Callender brought out his *Naval Side of British History*, and in 1936 Brian Tunstall's *Realities of Naval History* was published. Each of them devoted more space to analysis than to "the battle and the breeze" aspects as Lloyd calls them, but Lloyd goes still further in broadening the concept of what constitutes naval history. In contrast to the original research in his *The Navy and the Slave Trade*, he introduces relatively little new evidence in this volume, but he does provide an able and readable synthesis of all sides of Britain's naval development. He acknowledges a particular indebtedness to *The Navy of Britain*, written by his Greenwich colleague Michael Lewis and to Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond's *Statesmen and Sea Power*; the influence of those two excellent volumes is evident throughout the work. Perhaps the chief contribution of the Lloyd volume is the inclusion of scores of colorful, pertinent quotations which add much to the readability of the book while helping to give the flavor of the manifold aspects of the subject. Now and then some of the more general statements seem open to question, particularly, in view of the 1812 experiences, the statement that

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

"British gunnery proved superior to that of all other nations" in the Georgian era, while the statement that the *Lusitania* was sunk "with the loss of 2,000 passengers, most of whom were Americans" is definitely wrong, as is the citation of "S. E. Morison, *Life of Sims*." The story is carried from the days of Henry VIII to the Washington naval treaty of 1922. There is no comparable survey of American naval history. One must read Davis or the Sprouts for policy, Knox for meticulous operational detail, Fletcher Pratt for colorful narrative, and the rather spotty volume of the Annapolis historians for certain other aspects, but none of those books portrays, as Lloyd does, the development of naval life afloat and organization ashore. But the Royal Navy, of course, was a "major league" organization some three hundred years before the United States Navy attained that status.

ROBERT G. ALBION, *Harvard University*

BRITAIN'S POST OFFICE: A HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Howard Robinson*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. xiv, 299, \$4.25.) In his *The British Post Office: A History*, published in 1948 by the Princeton University Press, Professor Robinson produced a comprehensive history of the postal service of Great Britain, a book that will long serve scholars as the standard reference on this important subject. Rarely does an author rewrite such a book for another audience, but Robinson has taken time to essay a shorter and more popular version for the British reader. The layman will doubtless consider the latter to be by far the better book, and many a scholar will find it more interesting and stimulating because purged of excessive detail. This second effort, the reviewer feels, is in better proportions; the slow-moving opening chapters of the earlier work have been telescoped, and there is more emphasis on recent expansion. Whereas the earlier work came down only to the eve of World War II, this volume contains a good chapter on the strenuous services of the Post Office during that crisis. It should be emphasized that this is in no part a mere condensation of the larger work. The reviewer in comparing the two books has looked in vain for the repetition of a single sentence; very rarely is even the same phraseology encountered. Some of the old examples and quotations are used, but just as often new ones are employed as though the author had continued his research after 1948, of which, indeed, there are many indications. There has been more use this time, with benefit to the work, of unprinted archives of the Post Office itself, also of several manuscript collections not noticeably drawn upon for the earlier work. Obviously the author has spent more time with original materials in Britain, has soaked up more of the physical background and atmosphere, and has had the blessing and full co-operation of Post Office officials. Lord De La Warr, the Postmaster General, contributes an appreciative introduction. Several important appendixes, compiled from official records, are an innovation in this volume. All illustrations have been changed: many interesting ones this time are taken from record books of the Post Office. There are fewer maps, and the bibliography is shorter, but both are adequate for the general reader. We have here a rare doubly distilled product—an author's further refinement of his own good work. For research scholars the earlier volume cannot be fully superseded, but added material and added thought make this a fresh and, probably, a more significant contribution. It represents history writing of a high order.

OLIVER W. HOLMES, *National Archives*

THE WRITINGS OF ROBERT HARRISON AND ROBERT BROWNE. Edited by *Albert Peel* and *Leland H. Carlson*. [Sir Halley Stewart Trust Publications. Eliza-

bethan Nonconformist Texts, Volume II.] (London, George Allen and Unwin for the Trust, 1953, pp. ix, 560, 35s.) This is the second volume of a proposed seven-volume series of Elizabethan Nonconformist texts. The first volume, *Cartwrightiana*, containing some miscellaneous minor writings of Thomas Cartwright, was published in 1951. Historians are always glad to get accurate reprints of basic texts and students of Puritanism must be grateful for this series. It will not revolutionize our knowledge of English Congregationalism—all the material in Volume II is known to historians, and much of it has been available in modern reprints. Nor is Dr. Carlson's introduction intended as a fresh study of the documents; for the most part he limits himself to a brief discussion of the bibliographical problems. It is perhaps ungrateful to complain, but if the intention is to make these texts available to a wider audience, is it not a pedantic mistake to include all the heavy paraphernalia of "scientific" documentation? The writings are printed *literatim* and *verbatim* with every printer's error, every abbreviation, and every peculiarity of Elizabethan typography copied exactly; the pages are liberally sprinkled with square brackets containing original page names, "sic," "verso," "recto," etc. The result is an unattractive volume which is difficult to read and which will repel all except the most determined students. Surely this runs counter to the purpose of the series. Even from a scholarly point of view one may object to the inclusion of all the printer's errors. In the preface to Browne's "Answer to Master Cartwright" (p. 430), Professor Carlson writes: "The temptation to print one of Browne's works in attractive form, duly paragraphed and properly punctuated, has had to be sternly resisted. Had those works appeared in a printed dress as attractive in appearance as this manuscript, some of the conjectures which have been made about Browne would scarcely have been given the light of day." But I repeat that this is perhaps ungracious criticism. I am glad to have the volume in my library and will no doubt send graduate students to the copy in the college library.

RICHARD SCHLATTER, *Rutgers University*

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN WILKES AND CHARLES CHURCHILL.

Edited with an Introduction by *Edward H. Weatherly*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xxvii, 114, \$2.75.) This correspondence consists of sixty letters preserved in the British Museum Additional Manuscripts and two from the Guild Hall Manuscripts which were exchanged between Charles Churchill and John Wilkes from June, 1762, to November, 1764. The correspondence begins in the month of the first issue of the *North Briton* and continues to the death of Charles Churchill. Churchill was already widely known in 1762 as the author of the famous *Rosciad*, a long satire on English actors; Wilkes had occasionally written for the *Monitor*, an opposition weekly. His career still awaited the famous *North Briton* No. 45 of April, 1763, which was to catapult him to the center of the popular political arena. The correspondence deals for the most part with the *North Briton*, which Temple and other foes of Bute encouraged Wilkes to start in opposition to Smollett's pro-ministerial weekly. But it also touches a wider range which should interest students of English literature and society. Here in an epistolary style frank, witty, and often shocking are bits of news of the political figures of the day, of Hogarth, Garrick, and Sterne, and abundant evidence of the promiscuous moral lives of Wilkes and the talented clergyman. Mr. Weatherly's collection contains a good introduction which puts the correspondence in its context and disentangles the legal and political threads of the Wilkes affair. And the task of dating the letters and identifying the events and personalities has been done with thoroughness, perhaps in part with a punctiliousness increasingly prevalent among our countrymen who edit historical

and literary works. The specialist who uses this work does not require, for example, a footnote translation of *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* and certainly not a translation of *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. GEORGE B. COOPER, *Trinity College, Hartford*

WELLINGTON AND HIS ARMY. By *Godfrey Davies*. [Published in Co-operation with the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.] (Oxford, Basil Blackwell; San Marino, Huntington Library, 1954, pp. x, 154, \$3.00.) The author confesses that this interesting little volume resulted from a rereading while he was ill of Sir Charles Oman's *History of the Peninsular War* and of his *Wellington's Army*. The reader was impressed that the Wellington revealed by Sir Charles differed somewhat from the man described by historians of his civilian career. Mr. Davies was thus led to study for himself "the sources for the Peninsular War and Waterloo." The resulting seven chapters on "Wellington the Man," "Wellington the Soldier," "Wellington and His Officers," "Officers and Men," "Amusements and Recreations," and "Wives and Children" scarcely fulfill all the expectations suggested by the title of the book; they do, however, contribute interesting human sidelights on the great captain who fought Napoleon and on the army he led. Mr. Davies might well agree that the thought which inspired him to undertake this study probably led him to err as much on one side as he feels that Oman did on the other. He seeks to redress the balance. But his essays will interest a reader curious about the habits of life in a British army on the march before the nineteenth-century reforms and before war became the major enterprise of mass slaughter by mechanical devices it was destined to be in the twentieth century. Not that one in his right mind, even in Wellington's day, embarked on war abroad if he had a tolerable opportunity to abide at home in peace. W. T. LAPRADE, *Duke University*

GLYN'S, 1753-1953: SIX GENERATIONS IN LOMBARD STREET. By *Roger Fulford*. (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1953, pp. xvi, 267, \$4.50.) Mr. Fulford has written a semipopular history of one of the most famous English private bankers. He takes the reader rapidly from the founding of the firm in 1754 to the sale of the business to the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1939. The reader is given some significant information, such as that on the financial crisis of 1772, on railway financing after 1840, and on Canadian activities of the house. As suggested, the outstanding characteristic of the partners was probably integrity. There is considerable detail on the politics of the leading partners but relatively little on methods of business and conditions of work. Those economic and business historians who desire a comprehensive appraisal of Glyn's operations must wait for someone to investigate and use the information on the house in the Public Record Office, in railway and banking periodicals, in the Public Archives of Canada, and in the semiannual balance sheets published by the firm from 1885 to 1939, to mention a few sources. RALPH W. HIXY, *New York University*

A STUDY IN TRADE-CYCLE HISTORY: ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1833-1842. By *R. C. O. Matthews*, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Lecturer in Economics in the University of Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. xiv, 228, \$5.00.) R. C. O. Matthews in his study of trade cycles from 1833 to 1842 explains those fluctuations of trade which were so important yet so inexplicable to the early Victorians. By combining the penetrating tools of modern economic analysis with intensive historical research in the period, he has been able to lay apart the complicated causes behind these important economic events, to explain the rising prosperity from 1833 to 1836, the short acute

depression of 1837, the uneven recovery from 1838 to 1840, and finally the deep and pervasive depression of 1842, a depression whose severity was hardly equaled until 1930. Though he continually emphasizes the complexity of the economic forces behind these events, he does single out, as the principal cause of these fluctuations, the changing course of domestic investment. The great expansion of investment after 1832, largely in railways and textiles, and financed by the sudden multiplication of joint stock banks, led to the boom of 1836. But in that very expansion lay the seeds of depression. The "irrational optimism" of the English investor soon drove capital investment beyond profitable limits; and when those limits were exceeded investment dropped and a depression followed. "The slump," Matthews concludes, "was the logical sequence of the boom." Matthews also points to contributing causes. The depression of 1837 and 1842 in the United States, for example, weakened the market for British exports, while the bad harvests of 1839 and 1840, by raising the cost of bread, reduced the demand for manufactures. Both these events, by weakening the market for British manufactures, helped bring on the depression of 1842. But basically the cause of the depression lay in the banks and exchanges of London and Lancashire. There the unpredictable psychology of the investor, alternating between overconfidence and exaggerated caution, produced those recurrent cycles of prosperity and depression which so deeply affected the well-being of the early Victorians.

DAVID ROBERTS, *University of Washington*

RADICAL LEICESTER: A HISTORY OF LEICESTER, 1780-1850. By *A. Temple Patterson*, Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Southampton. (Leicester, University College, 1954, pp. x, 405, 30s.) Political radicalism in Leicester was related not only to the prominence of Nonconformity in the community but also to the almost chronic distress of the hosiery trade, the town's staple manufacture, and to the antiquated arrangements of that industry. Domestic workers in the hosiery trade in Leicester still greatly outnumbered the factory hands even in the 1840's and furnished one instance where the worst working conditions of the early nineteenth century existed not in the new factories but in industries in which older methods of organization had lingered on. Mr. A. Temple Patterson in his agreeable and useful account of Leicester over seven decades shows a firm grasp of the intricate relation of these religious, economic, social, and political developments. Though his method of presentation is quiet and unspectacular, he avoids the errors of the more old-fashioned type of local history, conforms to modern standards of scholarship, and offers a wealth of facts in a narrative which, though episodic, is also careful and well organized. Of particular interest is his treatment of municipal government and the struggle for municipal reform, a subject that can perhaps be studied more profitably on the local than on the national level. The story of the old corporation of Leicester in the last several decades before the Act of 1835, its election maneuvers, particularly in the election of 1826, and its unrepentant last-ditch fight against the reformers of the 1830's, is absorbing. It is to be regretted that Mr. Patterson's move from Leicester to Southampton has induced him to give up his original intention of bringing the history of Leicester down to 1914.

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE, *State University of Iowa*

IDEE E DOTTRINE IMPERIALISTICHE NELL'INGHILTERRA VITTORIANA.

By *Ottavio Barié*. (Naples, Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1953, pp. xii, 326, L. 2200.) This is an excellent piece of work, which deserves to be translated. I do not know of a better book for someone embarking upon a study of the British Empire or of imperialism in general; the clarity of the author's conception will

make it a delight for the general reader and the specialist, too. The author set out to "describe the evolution of the English concept of empire from the epoch of Manchester free trade and anti-colonial Liberalism to that of imperial federalism and of the mystical, missionary and racist pananglicism of the end of the nineteenth century" (p. vii). His purpose was not to narrate the history of the empire, nor to analyze its economic foundations, however important, but to describe the "sentimental and idealistic elements [of a period in which they] . . . complemented and sometimes even determined men's conclusions on economic, commercial and financial matters" (p. 315). He has not offered a critique of imperialism, but the best possible materials for a critique of the imperialist idea, on the assumption that "only the examination of the concepts and doctrines of the various groups and individuals can . . . clarify the multiple aspects of the problem" (p. xii). Only rarely has the author betrayed his own attitude, as when he describes overseas expansion as part of the "natural historical evolution" of Britain (p. 99), or when he compares Beaconsfieldism to modern totalitarianism (p. 144). Otherwise, he has made himself one with each of his subjects in turn, by a mastery of the sources and a successful effort at sympathetic understanding. The summation of each individual's contribution to imperial thought is often a model of succinctness, as in the characterization of Seeley (p. 179).

GORDON GRIFFITHS, *University of California*

ALEXANDRA: EDWARD VII'S UNPREDICTABLE QUEEN. By E. E. P. Tisdall. (New York, John Day, 1954, pp. vi, 308, \$4.50.) Pleasantly written for today's public, a life of Queen Alexandra (1844-1925) cannot but have some interest for a generation rightly impressed with the "magic" of British monarchy. "Alix" was an authentic beauty, a genuine personality, bore a sufficiency of healthy children, and was satisfyingly unpolitical. What more could be asked for in a Princess of Wales and Queen Consort? Unpredictable she was in the little things—her "I go!" became legendary—but her patience under trial, her adaptability to circumstance, her unself-conscious gaiety and sympathy were traits of a stable character. Her vagueness and unflagging unpunctuality were matched by directness of action and unfailing memory for faces. Mr. Tisdall has gathered from scattered printed materials the accessible facts and stories about Alexandra's life; the results are agreeable if not important. For the first thirty years his characters hardly come alive, and the author's somewhat airy way with dates and historical events is occasionally irritating or confusing. Some unbased *obiter dicta* on political matters are easily ignored. Gradually accumulation of anecdotes and impressions ends in a fairly rounded portrayal. It is always, however, Alix as she appeared to others, for of letters or direct discourse by her there is strikingly little. The twelve illustrations are familiar, and the book is indexed.

HENRY DONALDSON JORDAN, *Clark University*

EMPIRE BY MANDATE: A HISTORY OF THE RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By Campbell L. Upthegrove. (New York, Bookman Associates, 1954, pp. 239, \$3.50.) In this account of the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission as it related to Nauru, Togoland, the Cameroons, Tanganyika, Iraq, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan, Dr. Upthegrove seldom lifts his eyes from his sources, chiefly the minutes of the Mandates Commission and the reports of the British Colonial Office on the administration of the mandated territories. There are, therefore, despite a few feeble gestures, no real attempts to put the problem of governing quasi-internationalized dependent areas in its setting or to evaluate the mandatory experiment as it operated within the British Empire. The dust jacket suggests that

the book possesses great topical significance because of the current social, economic, and political unrest in underdeveloped areas. The manuscript, however, was completed as a doctoral dissertation in 1941 and apparently has been reproduced verbatim. There is no item in the bibliography dated later than 1940. The frequent textual references to "now" and "the present" all concern the period before American entry into the Second World War. The cross references are worse than useless, for they relate not to the printed text but to the typescript of the dissertation, one reference citing page 263 in a volume of 239 pages. At this point the diligent reader may avoid complete frustration only by recourse to the fairly adequate index. The writing is undistinguished, the proofreading is careless, and amazing errors have crept into the work. The reader is informed, for example, that Humphrey Milford was editor of *The British Yearbook of International Law* and of the *Survey of International Affairs. Empire by Mandate* may have some slight value as a brief summary of Britain's relations with the Mandates Commission, but it cannot stand comparison, even in its more restricted area, with the earlier published (but more recently written) *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeships* of Duncan Hall.

PAUL L. HANNA, *University of Florida*

MORRIS ALEXANDER: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Enid Alexander*. (Cape Town, Juta, 1953, pp. xiii, 256, 21s.) This anecdotal biography of a peripheral figure in modern South African politics is a case study in the decline of the Cape liberal tradition as represented by Morris Alexander. Establishing his Constitutional Democrat party rather than move with the Unionists into the South African party, which he considered illiberal, a decade later he found that this was the only vehicle available to him. When it joined Hertzog Nationalists as the United party, Alexander went along, and with a few others fought helplessly while it ended the old Cape native franchise. He saw his party make concessions to anti-Semitism, openly supported by the Malanites, in the 1937 Aliens Act. There is a measure of tragedy in his statement on that occasion to the assembly that he was its only member to have sat in the old Cape lower house. The writer forgives Dr. Malan, because after 1945 he dropped anti-Semitism. During the Pact administration Alexander had better relations with him and other Nationalists than with Smuts, of whom he had a cool opinion. Inevitably, however, he supported Smuts in the 1939 crisis, in which the author says that Hertzog rejected a plan to ignore the parliamentary verdict and maintain neutrality by martial law. If such a proposal were made, it would indicate that the neutralists did not believe that either an election or a referendum would help them. There are some odd slips. The Cape gets an assembly nine years after it had one (p. 126), and it is startling to read that union in 1910 extended the Cape colored vote (p. 127). There is an unfortunate omission of a leader in the group defending the Cape native vote, Senator F. S. Malan (p. 183), and Fusion is made to come two years early (p. 199).

COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

THE GENTLEMAN OF RENAISSANCE FRANCE. By W. L. Wiley. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. xii, 303, \$5.00.) Basing his book on original sources and relevant later literature Professor Wiley assists us toward a lively participation in the activities of the French nobleman of the sixteenth century—depict-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

ing his *moeurs*, etiquette, dress, education, his life at court and in the country, in tournament and war. This *gentilhomme* would stand out with greater clarity, however, if the author had realized and portrayed the contrasts between him and the gentleman of Castiglione's earlier Italy and the gentleman of Elizabethan England. For the nobleman described here is essentially the developed medieval chevalier, not the Renaissance *Cortegiano*. This was clear to Castiglione, whose great book noted that "the French recognize only the nobility of arms and esteem all else as naught." Not for them that love of knowledge and concern with literary and artistic culture associated with the humanities. As the most "complete gentlemen" of France Professor Wiley chooses and portrays the Chevalier Bayard and the Maréchal de Brissac, men of chivalric honor and quality indeed. But neither these nor the others whose exploits enliven these pages represent or embody the well-rounded gentleman of the civilization properly called Renaissance; their humanity is incomplete in comparison with that of Duke Federico of Urbino, Baldassare Castiglione, Sir Philip Sidney. The book whets the appetite for more information. We come to realize that for full comprehension of its theme we need more thoroughgoing search and criticism of available sources, and more penetrating thinking on the social phenomena, ideas, and culture of this so-called golden age of the French nobility. Surely some part of the explanation of the qualities, deficiencies, and differences in the make-up of "gentlemen" in sixteenth-century Europe—from place to place and from generation to generation—is to be found in the character and effects of prolonged civil and international conflict and war. Following upon Italy's loss of freedom (by 1530) came the decline of "honor" and the standards of the Italian gentleman's conduct and culture; in France the ideal which Francis I envisaged hardly came to birth, the careers of "arms" and of "letters" never merged to shape individuals of a more ideal aristocratic class. And we need to realize more profoundly how the deep religious divisions of Reformation and Counter Reformation and of thirty years of intransigent war ravaged France and reduced the number and the quality of her aristocratic families.

ERNEST W. NELSON, *Duke University*

L'ÈRE DU RAIL. By L.-M. Jouffroy. Preface by Raoul Dautry. [Collection Armand Colin: Section d'histoire et sciences économiques, no. 286.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1953, pp. 224, 12, 250 fr.) This is one of Armand Colin's many semipopular books on rather technical subjects. For scholars it has the defects of a somewhat scanty bibliography and of clarity obtained too much at the expense of factual information. It deals chiefly with France, but has brief sections on the problems of transportation throughout the world. The author also interprets the influence of transportation in the light of human geography and demography; but these subjects are dealt with too briefly, so that, while the interest of the reader is aroused, the impression left on his mind is not clear. This little book has good points which the American scholar should not overlook. Monsieur Jouffroy has long been an authority on transportation and bears the name of a distinguished inventor in that field in the late eighteenth century. In 1932 he published a book in several volumes on the Est railroad which is a masterpiece of both exposition and of bibliographical information. In his present little book of *vulgarisation* there is an excellent account of the older methods of transportation in France and their effects on the social life, urbanization, and economy of France and the different classes of its population. There are also shrewd comments and much information on the changes brought about by the railroad, and, in the twentieth century, on those created by the competition with coal of gasoline, other forms of oil as fuel, and electricity. The most important manifestation of this competition, the automobile, is properly emphasized. This is

not a convenient book for the American scholar, but it is useful and informing, because the author writes from great knowledge and experience.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM, *University of Michigan*

RÉALISATIONS FRANÇAISES DE CARTIER À MONTCALM. By *Gustave Lanctot*. (Montreal, Chantecler, 1951, pp. 210.) In this book the author has brought together a collection of articles which have been published previously in various journals during the period 1918-1948 in order that they may be more available. Of chief interest to students of Canadian history are the articles entitled "L'établissement de La Roche à l'île de Sable"; "Les premiers budgets de la Nouvelle-France"; "Les troupes de la Nouvelle-France"; "Le dernier effort de la France au Canada." The first deals with the La Roche settlement on Sable Island as a deliberate, planned event, not accidental; the second gives a fragmentary but useful picture of government expenditures in New France; the third is a reproduction of certain documents; and the fourth is an account of the fate of the last French convoy sent to Canada. The other articles are more popular in character, the last in the book, "Réalizations de la Nouvelle-France, de Cartier à Montcalm," being a useful summary essay to put into the hands of students.

R. M. SAUNDERS, *University of Toronto*

LEMOYNE D'IBERVILLE: SOLDIER OF NEW FRANCE. By *Nellis M. Crouse*. (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1954, pp. ix, 280, \$4.00.) A biography of the outstanding "Macabee of New France" in English is long overdue. Americans claim him almost as much as Canada does, for his career touched many phases of the history of the continent: Hudson Bay, New York, New Orleans and Louisiana, and explorers like Radisson, La Salle, Hennepin, Tonty, Jean Peré, Pénicaut, and others. This is a very readable account of Iberville's life, based on most of the available printed material. There is little that is new to the experienced delver in Canadiana, but most of the data has been so scattered that it is highly convenient to have it all assembled within the covers of one volume. No manuscripts are cited, though many known to be in existence would have been of some importance, such as Iberville's plan for attacking New York and his excellent review of early French exploration in the Hudson Bay country. Iberville's relations with several of the earliest explorers in that area and about the Great Lakes, such as his own father and uncle, need much more investigation than is given them in this book. For example, it is only Iberville among Radisson's contemporaries, who gives correctly the details of the latter's Hudson Bay and French career. The volume is thoroughly documented, though a very confusing and old fashioned style is followed in the footnotes. A reader must search through many pages to find the last citation made by the author under an "*op. cit.*" reference. Some strange references turn up in the bibliography, such as "Archives des colonies. In the Public Archives at Ottawa." It would be an astute reader who would infer from this item that the author was referring to a tremendous body of manuscript material in Paris! To be sure, copies are available in Ottawa, but an inexperienced reader would never make that deduction from the item as printed. Another misleading item reads: "Rich, E. E., ed. *Copy-Book of Letters Outward, etc.* 1948." Again, a reader would need second sight to conclude that this volume contains the early correspondence of the Hudson's Bay Company. There are numerous other strange citations. The work is a fine example of book-making, has an excellent index but only two maps, and is supplied with something extremely rare for an early French explorer—an authentic portrait.

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Minnesota Historical Society*

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SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

C. J. Bishko¹

JUAN II DE ARAGON (1398-1479): MONARQUIA Y REVOLUCION EN LA ESPAÑA DEL SIGLO XV. By J. Vicens Vives, Professor at the University of Barcelona. (Barcelona, Teide, 1953, pp. 420, ptas. 300.) This volume is the first full-length study of Juan II, king of Navarre and Aragon, and father of the Ferdinand whose marriage to Isabel of Castile united Spain under the joint rule of *los reyes católicos*. Besides producing a detailed personal and political biography based on a wealth of archival documentation, Professor Vicens has pondered deeply the chronic difficul-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

ties of governing "Invertebrate Spain"; and he sees the fifteenth century as the era in which the internal political problems of Spain began to take their distinctive modern shape. Most interesting from this standpoint is his treatment of the Catalan revolution of 1460-72, in which the struggle to preserve regional liberties against the authoritarian pretensions of the king was mingled with bitter class conflict between the commercial landowning oligarchy on the one hand, and the peasants and the *menu peuple* of Barcelona on the other. The policy of Juan II tended to support the peasants and the urban masses, without, however, being sufficiently sensitive to the force of regional sentiment. A proud and politically experienced aristocracy risked civil war under the banner of regional liberty, and both sides invited French intervention. When, after a long siege, Barcelona capitulated in 1472, Catalan commercial prosperity had been ruined, and neither the conflict between peasant and landlord, nor that between regional autonomy and central authority, had been satisfactorily resolved. Without expounding his viewpoint in detail, the author evidently sees painful analogies between this fifteenth-century revolution and the recent Spanish Civil War: class conflict between the wealthy Barcelona oligarchy and the syndicates of peasants and workers; separatist demagoguery in Catalonia and incomprehension by the central government of the psychological importance of regional autonomy; readiness of the combatants to ruin their country physically and morally by attracting foreign intervention.

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SIMON RUIZ ET LES "ASIENTOS" DE PHILIPPE II. By *Henri Lapeyre*. [Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI^e section, Centre de recherches historiques, Affaires et gens d'affaires, VI.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1953, pp. 135.) "Nothing," Thorold Rogers believed, "would be more instructive in the interpretation of the struggle between the United Provinces and Philip the Second . . . than information on the rate at which Philip's bills were discounted at Genoa and elsewhere." After a lapse of seventy years, some of the data which the English historian considered so significant have been brought to light by a French scholar working in Spanish archives. Rogers, perhaps, would have been puzzled by the devious ways in which Philip II financed his imperial plans beyond the Pyrenees. As the title of M. Lapeyre's study suggests, the *asiento* was the chief financial instrument for placing funds at the disposal of army paymasters and civilian agents of the crown in Flanders and Italy. The following *asiento* may serve to clarify the subject. In Namur, on September 28, 1577, Pero Ruiz, a Spanish banker from Medina del Campo, contracted to deliver 192,000 reals in specie to the order of Juan of Austria, in Paris, before October 21. (Ruiz already had the money at Nantes.) In return for the promised specie Juan gave Ruiz a bill of exchange for 16,000 *escudos*, payable at the treasury, in Madrid, ten days after sight. The third part of the *asiento* was a royal license authorizing Ruiz to export from Spain 24,000 *escudos* "in gold or silver, as best suits him." The exchange on Madrid commanded a premium of almost nineteen per cent, which covered Ruiz' expenses in the transaction, interest on the investment, and insurance against the (very real) risk that the king would not live up to the *asiento* in full or on time. Thanks to the Ruiz papers, only recently deposited in public archives, Lapeyre has been conspicuously successful in unraveling the intricacies of international finance in the period in which treasure from the Indies was seeping out of Spain to pay Philip's mounting expenses in Europe. The Ruizes were not the most powerful merchant bankers in the sixteenth century, but they had confidential and profitable contacts with "the strongest [banking] houses of Lyon, Antwerp, Lisbon, and Genoa." In their subservience to the demands of Philip II, and of Charles V before him, the bankers mobilized immense resources for

the uses of war and political intrigue, while the drying up of investment in commerce and industry paved the way for Spanish decadence in the seventeenth century.

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THE SALE OF PUBLIC OFFICE IN THE SPANISH INDIES UNDER THE HAPSBURGS. By J. H. Parry. [Ibero-Americana: 37.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. 73, \$1.50.) Dynastic wars had drained the coffers of Spain. Philip II, compelled by necessity, authorized the sale of certain offices and introduced the practice in the Indies. The author shows how once the floodgate was let down the system developed with astounding rapidity. Before long the whole of Spain and the Indies became infected with an evil that cost the crown much more than it produced. It lowered the morale of officials, spread a creeping paralysis over the administration, minimized public confidence in royal justice, and sapped the strength of the empire overseas. More than a mere sale of offices the practice proved to be the abdication of royal authority in basic functions. The passing of the Habsburgs did not end the evil which continued somewhat modified until it was abolished by a law of the Cortes in 1812. The present study traces the origin of the practice and discusses in summary but scholarly fashion the sale of notarial offices, miscellaneous fee-earning offices, municipal dignities, and salaried offices. The law and procedure of the system is likewise summarized. The short monograph is a thorough, compact analysis of a phase of Spanish colonial administration that has long been needed, a worthy contribution to the Ibero-Americana series.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes¹

REGERING OCH ALLMOGE UNDER KRISTINAS EGEN STYRELSE: RIKSDAGEN 1650. By *Georg Wittrock*. [Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala, Volume XLI.] (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells, 1953, pp. xv, 269, kr. 15.) Professor Wittrock has here brought together the complaints of the Swedish peasants, the discussions of the Council and the Riksdag thereon, and the comments and decisions of the young queen, in the period 1645-1650. The theme is the conflict between the rising power of the nobles on the one hand and the broader interests of the monarchy and the country people on the other. This detailed account continues an earlier study by Wittrock on the period of the queen's minority (Vol. XXXVIII, 1948, in same series); it is of significance both socially and politically. Readers lacking a mastery of Swedish can get the essentials from the twelve-page English summary, although it must be added that both summary and text assume a knowledge of Swedish conditions in the seventeenth century that is as foreign to most as is the language itself. The Thirty Years' War increased greatly the wealth and pretensions of the Swedish nobility. Gustavus Adolphus had begun a system of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

acquiring support by donations and sales of land and tax rights to nobles; Christina, especially after she was declared of age in 1644, felt forced to extend this policy. But its dangers increased as the nobles returned from war, with experience in lands where men of their class were real masters. Preservation of the historic Swedish freedoms was not easy. Some amelioration and control were obtained over excessive demands for taxes, workdays, and services to travelers; in the sensational case of Lars Fleming, who introduced the "wooden horse" to punish recalcitrant peasants, the charges of the victims were sent to the high court by the queen, and the peasants won a cancellation of their contract with Fleming. Real serfdom was not permitted in Sweden, but in this period it was threatening; Christina's insistence on law and custom helped the peasantry to retain their ancient rights against what appeared to be a "trend of the times."

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

MODERN GERMAN HISTORY. By *Ralph Flenley*, University of Toronto. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1953, pp. xii, 406, \$6.00.) Dr. Flenley's text on modern German history is a well-intentioned book. He is quite properly dissatisfied with the character and the quality of existing surveys of the field and he is also to be commended for his desire to give more attention to the liberal currents in German history as well as to integrate social, economic, and cultural history with the political. His pages on Goethe are, as a matter of fact, the best in the book and he also has some finely written pages on German liberalism (although it is hard to see how he can lump Arndt, Goerres and the Burschenschaften with the liberalism of Rotteck and Welcker). The realization of the author's plan, however, is not too happy. In the first place he attempts to cover too much within the compass of what is, after all, a relatively short account. He begins with the sixteenth century, devoting almost one third of the volume to the period before the nineteenth century. The result of attempting to cover such a vast field is an account which, for the most part, provides little more than what you would get if you assembled all the paragraphs dealing with Germany out of a reputable and good-sized text on modern European history. Moreover, the twentieth century, which suffers most in the usual survey, is here too accorded very summary treatment. The book is also marred by several other defects. It is poorly written,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

with many colloquialisms, stylistic and grammatical errors, and often clumsy and ludicrous phrases (which do not reflect too well on the publisher's editors). There are numerous typographical errors as well as many factual inaccuracies. Among the latter are: The title of Friedrich List's main work is "A National System of Political Economy" and not of "National Economy" (p. 162). Emperor Francis II of Austria died in 1835 and could, therefore, hardly be an epileptic in 1848 (p. 171); the author obviously means Ferdinand I. Stephan Born was not a Marxist "agent" (p. 176); he differed with Marx on many fundamental issues. In the light of Sauter's new material it is necessary to revise the statement that Friedrich List was "the father of German railways" (p. 242); this title should go to Josef von Baeder. Windthorst was anything but "short-sighted" (p. 274); the meaning would have been clearer if the author had said "near-sighted." The I. G. Farben was not organized as such until after World War I and should therefore not come under discussion of economic developments before the war. The Pan-German League was organized by Karl Peters in 1891 and not by E. Hasse in 1893 (p. 316). A very erroneous impression is given by a statement that the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils "deliberated as to whether they should go with the government or the communists" (p. 347); it was crucial for the course of the German revolution that the councils in Germany were always under the control of the Majority Socialists, and this fact had a great deal to do with keeping Germany from going communist in 1918-1919. The author's discussion of economic councils under the Weimar Republic would have been less confusing if he had consulted Nathan Reich's *Labour Relations in Republican Germany*. Walther Rathenau was assassinated in 1922 and therefore could hardly have participated in the rationalization of industry (p. 359), although his theories, of course, and his work during the war were influential. Einstein was not a refugee from the Nazis (p. 376); he left Germany long before.

KOPPEL S. PINSON, *Queens College*

RUDOLF VIRCHOW: DOCTOR, STATESMAN, ANTHROPOLOGIST. By *Erwin H. Ackerknecht*. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1953, pp. xv, 304, \$5.00.) This study of Rudolf Virchow is a contribution of unusual interest. The author presents a brief life history of this outstanding scientist followed by an analysis of his work not only as a doctor but as a statesman and anthropologist. The contributions of Virchow to medicine, particularly in the field of pathology, were of such importance as to number him among those great scientists of the last century who laid the foundations for modern medicine. The student of medicine will doubtless be surprised to learn, as stated in this volume, that Virchow's role on the German political scene was of such importance that, "Bismarck was so annoyed by the little professor that he tried to get rid of him by a challenge to a duel." The author has so skillfully portrayed each of the roles that Virchow played, in terms of the contemporary life of his time, that this volume constitutes a valuable contribution to the literature on modern European history.

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ART UNDER A DICTATORSHIP. By *Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xxii, 277, 45 plates, \$5.50.) This very courageous and scholarly book might well be considered a key to an understanding of the history of the visual arts under the dictatorships of the twentieth century. The book is a documentation of the main restrictions and dictated directions of the visual arts practiced in Nazi Germany. Dr. Lehmann-Haupt is alert also to the essential similarity between "national socialist" art as dictated and financed by the Nazis and "social realism" art which is part of the communist threat to individual freedom of expression. The book presents the case history of Hitler's Germany and the sinister events

of those three decades in the areas of Nazi control. Dr. Lehmann-Haupt integrates several recent circumstances and events in the United States and brings the problem to our own threshold. The restriction of the subject to the visual arts was a logical limitation imposed by the author's interests. Books by other former members of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section, United States Office of Military Government in Germany, have related the story of the Nazi seizure of European public and private collections. Informed people everywhere, too, are aware in a general way, of Goebbels' (also the Communists') interest in the press, the cinema, radio, the concert, and theater as media for controlled propaganda. But the sometimes subtle, sometimes high-handed and criminal subversion and direction of the visual arts by the dictators have not been so well known. The peculiarly well-qualified Dr. Lehmann-Haupt views the whole problem with the detachment of a political scientist and the understanding of a creative artist. The book includes interviews with living victims (and the stark testimony of the dead) of Hitler's Germany and occupied Europe, of post-World War II East Germany, of Russia and her satellites, as well as the evidence of the dictators' official and unofficial actions, plots, programs, and publications. A very minor technical translator's error will be noted by military historians. On page 92, Oberkommand Wehrmacht (OKW) should be translated "High Command of the Armed Forces," not "Army High Command." In keeping with this correction, the German navy and air force war-art programs paralleled the army organization related on page 92; for a time all were under the command of Herr Major Luitpold Adam.

GORDON W. GILKEY, *Oregon State College*

THE REBIRTH OF AUSTRIA. By *Richard Hiscocks*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. ix, 263, \$3.50.) The author of the above volume, a Canadian by birth, as British Council Representative in Austria from 1946 to 1949, had the opportunity to consult many important figures in Austrian public life. Making full use of these contacts, Mr. Hiscocks has written a solid, interesting survey of Austrian affairs since 1945. Not only has he given a good account of the political and diplomatic history of the Republic, but he has dealt adequately with the economic and social problems of the little country and the amazing cultural revival that has taken place since the war, in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles. Running like a red thread through the volume is the contrast between the Russian policy of close co-operation in establishing a democratic republic in 1945, unhindered by restraints or attempted dictation, and the vexatious Russian obstructionism of more recent years. At the onset, the Soviet military authorities co-operated to the utmost with Dr. Renner in establishing an Austrian coalition government, which they allowed to remain relatively independent of Russian interference. Keenly disappointed and offended over the results of the November, 1945, elections, when Communists were elected to only 4 of the 165 seats in the National Assembly rather than the large number—perhaps 40 per cent (p. 42)—which they had expected to obtain, the Russians definitely changed their attitude toward Austria from one of co-operation to one of obstruction. If before 1946 they ever seriously intended to give the Austrians their freedom, the Russians from that time on have constantly frustrated all efforts to sign a peace treaty which would give the Austrians their independence. In fact, in the fall of 1950 they went so far as to encourage the Austrian Communists to wage a series of general strikes aimed at wrecking the Austrian trade union movement and eventually turning Austria into a "People's Democracy"—eastern European style. Mr. Hiscocks' volume can be read with profit by everyone interested in the spirited struggle of the Austrian Republic to obtain freedom and in Russian policies in central Europe.

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

L'AUSTRIA E LA QUESTIONE ROMANA DALLA RIVOLUZIONE DI LUGLIO ALLA FINE DELLA CONFERENZA DIPLOMATICA ROMANA (AGOSTO 1830-LUGLIO 1831). By *Narciso Nada*. [Università di Torino, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Volume V, fasc. 3.] (Turin, the University, 1953, pp. 193, L. 1100.) It does not seem to be in the least surprising that a diligent use of the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv of Vienna would be a source of enlightenment to scholars concerned with Austrian policy toward the Italian states during the revolutions of the Risorgimento, but it is only recently that Italians have found it possible to include these valuable materials in their researches. Almost inevitably, an honest use of the Austrian archives leads to a new view of Austrian intentions in regard to Italy, since the Austrian side of the argument was patriotically neglected in older writings, and

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the preferred sources were those hostile to the "Holy Alliance." While it satisfied Gualterio, Bianchi, and other authorities on the subject to see the Austrians as motivated by a desire to impose the blackest reaction in Italy and by a sordid greed for territorial expansion (especially in the Papal States), later workers in the field like Mr. Nada, relying heavily upon the Austrian archives and enjoying a calmer outlook now that the hereditary enemy is laid low, can take a revised view and say: "Metternich's policy, though quite firm and exacting in its conservative inclinations, has appeared to me to be more moderate, more 'reformist' than it has been thought to be until now (and this, in my opinion, is the most important result of my researches)" (p. 4). In his sources and partly in his conclusions, Mr. Nada follows in the footsteps of Salata and of Pedrotti in their work on Austrian policy in the Parmesan and Modenese risings of 1831 and in those of Ruggero Moscati in his excellent and more comprehensive treatment of Austrian diplomacy in regard to Neapolitan affairs from 1821 to 1859. Within the compass of its short period, this study shows very well that Metternich never intended to violate his own basic principle of maintaining the Vienna settlement by indulging desires for territory in the legations and demonstrates his various feints and threats to have been directed against an increase of French influence in the peninsula and toward a strengthening of the papal regime. Prince Metternich made such a magnificent villain in the older historiography that it seems a pity to have him replaced by a merely villainous situation in which unreasonable radicals contended against unreasonable reactionaries, both courting another round of ruinous international war in Italy, but this is the valid and reasonable correction furnished by Mr. Nada in this monograph. GEORGE T. ROMANI, *Northwestern University*

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Sergius Yakobson

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

GREECE: A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY, 1939-1953. By *Bickham Sweet-Escott*. (New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1954, pp. vii, 207, \$4.00.) The author of this work is a banker by profession who served from 1939 to 1945 with the British Special Operations Executive (resistance movements) operating in the Balkans and elsewhere. He has divided his study into two equal parts, the first dealing with political developments and the second with economic. The latter is by far the more valuable. It consists of two chapters describing the evolution of the Greek economy from 1945 to 1953 and three additional chapters dealing in greater detail with various aspects of the national economy including agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing, mining, industry, commerce, finance, trade unionism, and social conditions. The appendixes provide supplementary statistical data on population, occupations, diet, agricultural and industrial production, foreign trade, budget figures, national debt, and volume of postwar assistance. The author's conclusions are not encouraging. Despite the progress made in recent years the Greek economy has not yet attained even the precarious balance of the prewar period. "Greece cannot continue indefinitely to import raw materials and manufactured goods on the present scale. At some time American assistance will come to an end, and Greece will then have to make ends meet. It cannot fairly be said that she is in sight of doing so at present" (pp. 152-53). The political half of the book provides a summary of events since 1939. The author obviously is not as familiar with the material in this field as he is with that concerning economic matters. His interpretation of political developments is consistently "official," sometimes to the point of naiveté. This is certainly the case when he states that the primary reason that Britain sent troops to Greece in the fall of 1944 was "to make it possible for relief to reach the country" (p. 133). Also he is unjustified in stating that "it is hard to see what other course was open" to King George when he accepted the Metaxas dictatorship on August 4, 1936 (p. 8). The day before the leaders of the two largest political parties had informed the king that they were ready to form a coalition government. When the author reaches the period of the battle of Athens of December, 1944, he admits that "controversy still surrounds the steps by which the dispute over the disarming of the guerrillas degenerated into civil war" (p. 35). But the account that follows is completely one-sided and fails to inform the reader of the issues in dispute. This book, in short, provides a useful survey of the economic development since World War II, but the political section needs to be balanced by other sources.

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Far Eastern History

THE MULTI-STATE SYSTEM OF ANCIENT CHINA. By *Richard Louis Walker*, Assistant Professor of History and Fellow of Trumbull College in Yale University. (Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1953, pp. xii, 135, \$3.50.) This stimulating study of an important and neglected subject, the political phenomena of the Ch'un Ch'iu period (722-481 B.C.), should be read by all students of political science and international relations. For specialists in ancient China it offers, within brief compass, the results of very wide reading and laborious research together with some bold and challenging hypotheses. Professor Walker will not have expected that all students will agree with these without reservation. Especially debatable is his apparent acceptance of two of his basic texts, the *Tso Chuan* and the *Kuo Yü*, as faithful reflections of both the events and the ideas of the Ch'un Ch'iu period. Henri Maspero, in a study which Walker cites in a note (p. 109, n. 21), concluded, in part upon the basis of its long-range predictions, that the *Tso Chuan* could not have reached its present form before about 300 B.C. This reviewer, in a critical study also cited by Professor Walker (p. 208, n. 20), brought evidence to show that while the historical facts in the *Tso Chuan* are no doubt accurate, many of the conversations it records have certainly been added later. Yet Professor Walker seems to accept conversations, uncanny predictions (see p. 51), and all as part of the historical record. The dating of the *Kuo Yü* seems, if anything, more questionable. These facts do not invalidate Walker's work, but they do throw doubt on some of his conclusions, such, for instance, as his contention that certain phenomena attributed by Ch'i Ssü-ho to Chan Kuo times really took place earlier. A recurrent theme is the insistence that "there probably never was much of a Chou empire to break to pieces" (p. 13). The author's principal source on this point is an article published in 1935 (*American Journal of International Law*, XXIX, 616-35) by the late Roswell S. Britton, who was rather more tentative on this point than Walker is. It has long been recognized that the early Chou empire did not include, as tradition insists it did, such areas as the state of Ch'u. But it was a considerable empire for all that, with a very interesting organization. This is attested not only by the transmitted literature but also by many authentic and revealing bronze inscriptions. Neither the article by Britton nor this book by Walker gives evidence that their authors were conversant with these latter materials. Despite these and other points on which issue could be taken by this reviewer, he feels very real gratitude to Professor Walker for giving us the results of his extensive and at times very ingenious researches in this difficult and little-known field. The notes alone are a gold mine of useful bibliography. It is to be hoped that in a future edition Professor Walker will make his material more available for reference by adding an index.

H. G. CREEL, *University of Chicago*

SOUTH CHINA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: BEING THE NARRATIVES OF GALEOTE PEREIRA, FR. GASPAR DA CRUZ, O.P., FR. MARTIN DE RADA, O.E.S.A. (1550-1575). Edited by C. R. Boxer, Camões Professor of Portuguese, University of London, King's College. [The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. CVI.] (London, the Society, 1953, pp. xci, 388.) One way to understand Chinese history and society is through the cool-minded description of Westerners whose experiences and observations may supplement Chinese sources. In this respect the volume under review is a useful contribution to sinology. It contains three narratives depicting South China by pioneer Portuguese and Spanish visitors in 1550-1575. The first narrative was written by a Portuguese merchant, Galeote Pereira, who was captured in 1549 by Chinese coast guards and exiled from Foochow to Kwangsi, where he eventually escaped. He jotted down what he saw and what he was told. The second was penned by a Dominican friar, Gaspar da Cruz, who used Pereira's work as a main source. Cruz had worked in India and Cambodia before he spent several months in Canton in 1556 and thereafter he went to Malacca and Ormuz; hence in *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, there are chapters dealing with all of these places. The third account by a Spanish friar and mathematician, Martin de Rada, was made from his letters written in 1575 about the journey from Manila to Fukien, and about, *inter alia*, Chinese scientific knowledge, population, and national revenue. He advocated the conquest of China. These three narratives contain valuable information about the judicial system, prison conditions, municipal administration, public transportation, agriculture, industry, art and architecture. The authors believed that sixteenth-century China was a country where justice and peace were well maintained, art and industry highly developed, and roads in many ways more advanced than those of Europe. The poverty-stricken Chinese were better off than the British and Portuguese. However, their descriptions are not free from exaggeration and error. The editor, Professor C. R. Boxer of the University of London, is an authority on the early Western literature about the Far East. His introduction and footnotes demonstrate his profound knowledge. His painstaking editorship still leaves room for sinologists and linguists to delve into Chinese history and gazetteers for identification of Chinese place names and official titles. S. Y. TENG, *Indiana University*

WAR IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1793-1815. By C. Northcote Parkinson, Raffles Professor of History, University of Malaya. (London, George Allen and Unwin; New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. 477, \$8.00.) *War in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1815*, is Professor Parkinson's third book, but we hope not his last, dealing with these years. In his *Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1815*, he dealt with British commerce in the East; *The Trade Winds*, which he edited and to which he contributed two of the essays, treated British overseas trade during these twenty-two years. *War in the Eastern Seas* parallels the volume on trade with the naval and military history of the East Indies station which stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to China. Professor Parkinson plans to write a monumental history of the British naval wars from 1793 to 1815 in which he will deal with these wars in other parts of the globe as he has done in this volume with those in the Eastern sphere. While using a variety of source material he has drawn most heavily on the letters in the Public Record Office of the commanders-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope and East Indies stations. The book is divided into an introduction and three chronological periods divided at 1802 and 1809. This forty-page introduction is a very fine descriptive survey of the colonies and trading posts of the various European powers from the Cape to China. Students of economic and imperial history who may not be particularly interested in the details of naval warfare which the volume treats so fully will find this introduction well worth reading. Professor Parkinson is most effective when he analyzes the reasons why

England was more successful in the Eastern seas than her several European rivals. Although the colonies of other nations were affected by the war, the book naturally deals mostly with the clashes between the principal rivals, England and France. The author avoids the straight narrative approach by analyzing the fundamental strategic objectives of both Britain and France and the tactical choices before each commander in every naval encounter. This approach enables the reader to avoid the feeling of the inevitability of events which is so often found in military and naval history. One defect which may prevent the volume from having a widespread appeal is the almost total absence of accounts of the wars in Europe and of internal developments in England and France. That Professor Parkinson has the ability to provide such accounts is shown by his superb three-page summary of the naval war in the Indian Ocean from 1794 to 1801 at the end of Part I of the narrative. Why he did not repeat this performance at the end of other chapters and especially at the end of the book, puzzles the reviewer. Perhaps when he has written his complete history of the naval wars from 1793 to 1815 this difficulty will disappear. There are a few typographical errors but not enough to mar the pleasure of reading a good piece of research well presented.

DONALD GROVE BARNES, *Western Reserve University*

LIANG CH'I-CH'AO AND THE MIND OF MODERN CHINA. By *Joseph R. Levenson*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, XXVI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. xii, 256, \$4.00.) Central in modern Chinese history has been the problem, faced by China's intellectuals, of how to modernize yet at the same time retain confidence in their ancient civilization, and thereby in themselves. Among the men who have struggled with this problem, the journalist, scholar, and political reformer Liang Ch'í-Ch'ao (1873-1929) unquestionably holds an eminent position. In many ways, indeed, his life epitomizes the desperate psychological need of an entire generation somehow to accommodate a dying Chinese tradition to the relentless encroachments of a dynamic West. The present work treats Liang along two lines. The first is a biographical account of the outward facts in his life. The second is an analytical study of the intellectual syntheses—and the inherent contradictions in each of these syntheses—successively formulated by Liang in his attempts to reconcile Chinese civilization with the West. Despite the author's disclaimer in his preface of any attempt to make an inner psychological study of Liang as an individual, the purely biographical portion of his volume is not wholly satisfactory. Though there is a mass of detail—some nonspecialists may perhaps at times think too much detail—its nature is such that it fails to add up to any clear-cut picture of Liang as a human personality, influencing and being influenced by other personalities. Only two pages, for example, suffice to cover his entire boyhood until the age of sixteen; only two sentences, his entire married life! Perhaps, however, the difficulty lies less with the author than with his sources, for Chinese biographical writing has traditionally tended to ignore the private lives of its subjects unless these have a manifest bearing upon their public careers. The analysis of Liang the thinker on public issues, on the other hand, is a brilliant achievement, not merely because of its expert handling of a very complex configuration of intellectual forces but especially because it successfully demonstrates how this configuration is dynamically compelled to change from epoch to epoch. Too many studies on modern China concern themselves with events and movements in the abstract; too few of them with the thinking of the individuals involved in these movements. The present volume blazes a new path which it is hoped many scholars will follow. It should be of profound interest not only to specialists but to all persons who wish to see what happens when Western ideas and ideals impinge upon an ancient non-Western civilization.

DERK BODDE, *University of Pennsylvania*

MODERN CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY. By *Werner Levi*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1953, pp. 399, \$5.50.) Professor Levi has undertaken to discuss a subject of great complexity and importance. Starting with the Manchu Empire in the nineteenth century, he traces China's foreign policies through the early Republic and period of Nationalist rule into the opening years of Communist power. His purpose, he indicates, is not to describe events in great detail, but rather to analyze and interpret. The book considers or touches upon many of the major topics it might be expected to contain. At times the analysis is useful. Unfortunately, in too many places it is superficial and contradictory. The author states, for example, that not long after the Russo-Japanese War the imperial government of China "set out . . . to create nationalism in the Empire." Apparently the term, nationalism, is confused here with the throne's slightly modernized version of the traditional emphasis on the relations of ruler and subject. The fact that Peking cited the example of modern states in its edicts and announced plans for a constitutional monarchy does not mean that it was seeking to promote nationalism. Of the contradictions two instances are typical. The view is expressed that the early conflict between the Manchu government and the Western commercial powers "appeared much more difficult of reconciliation than in reality it would have had to be." But a few pages later the existence of an irreconcilable conflict is suggested by two assertions: that imperial "society did not need trade, which could only lead to its destruction" and that the foreigners' demands for equal treatment "struck at the roots of Chinese society and threatened to undermine the position of the ruling classes." Again, the author declares that the doctrine of the Chinese Communists is a poor guide to their foreign policy and that it is better to rest an analysis of their course on "traditional and basic factors . . . such as national security, geography, or resources. . . ." Yet he declares elsewhere that Peking's policy toward the United States has been determined by the Communists' doctrinal view of the American social order. The discussion of United States-Chinese Communist relations is, in general, unsatisfactory. The failure to look into Stilwell's recall as a major turning point, and the scant references to MacArthur's influence on China policy some years later, are symptomatic. So, too, is the dismissal of the "Great Debate" about China on the ground that it "had little to do with the facts" and "belongs, not to Chinese history, but rather to the sad history of American party politics." The subject, nevertheless, demands consideration, since political use of the China issue in this country has had crucial effects on American policy toward China and must have influenced Chinese Communist policy toward the United States.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER, *Detroit, Michigan*

CANADA AND THE FAR EAST, 1940-1953. By *H. F. Angus*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. x, 129, \$3.50.) What makes Professor Angus' book a significant contribution to the literature on international affairs is his analysis of the attitudes and opinions which shape Canada's external policies in general and her Asian policies in particular. The author is not content with a survey of Canada's relations with various Asian countries—China, Japan, Southeast Asian countries, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon—but looks "deep below the surface for the hard core of self-interest, sentiment, prejudice even, which . . . lies hidden" (p. 106). Although a handbook rather than a detailed treatise on international relations, the book is well documented, based largely on the excellent publications of the Canadian Department of External Affairs which were not available at the time when Professor A. R. M. Lower wrote his *Canada and the Far East* (IPR Inquiry Series, New York, 1940). The most thoughtful and original chapter is that

on "The Nature of Canadian Nationalism," which reveals the masterful touch of a political scientist long familiar with public opinion trends in Canada. The fact that Canadian nationalism has a mission, i.e., "to lead the middle powers in the construction and maintenance of a peaceful world," should be of particular interest to American statesmen and political scientists. For although the major aims of the foreign policies of the United States and Canada are essentially similar, there have been differences of opinions which were to be accounted for by the occasional lack of consideration on the part of the United States of the aims and aspirations of the young confident Canadian nation. On the other hand, as is confirmed in this book, if Canada is duly consulted by the United States in the formulation of major international policies, she will undoubtedly go the distance with her powerful neighbor. Canadian policy toward the greater part of Asia is summarized as having three aspects, namely, "the fulfilment of Canada's obligations as a member of the United Nations," "the establishment of collective security," and her "interest in checking the spread of communist power" (chap. 4, esp. p. 32). In reviewing the operation of such a policy, however, the author almost completely refrains from any criticism and shares the general complacency in Canada that Canadian foreign policy is in "safe hands." For Canadian foreign policy is based on Canadian opinion which, in the last analysis, is formulated by her statesmen. As long as Mr. Lester Pearson's policy conforms to the "Canadian average" or "weighted average," there can indeed be no effective criticism (chap. 11). The weakness of the book is its almost entire lack of analysis of the situation in Asia and the varied aspirations of various Asian countries with which it deals. Thus it is possible, for instance, for the author summarily to dismiss the alliance of Asian nationalism "with communism to overcome the powers of landlords and money-lenders . . . as a sort of perversion" (p. 9). All in all, the book is a brilliant analysis from a strictly Canadian point of view of the principles of Canadian policy toward East and Southeast Asia. It is not without dull pages and sections. But that dullness is not the author's fault; for never since Arthur Meighen's insistence on the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has the Far East been one of the primary concerns of Canadian external policy.

PING-TI HO, *University of British Columbia*

United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

PAPIERS CONTRECOEUR ET AUTRES DOCUMENTS CONCERNANT LE CONFLIT ANGLO-FRANÇAIS SUR L'OHIO DE 1745 À 1756. Edited by *Fernand Grenier*, Professeur au Petit Séminaire de Québec. [Université Laval, Publications des Archives du Séminaire de Québec, I.] (Québec: Presses universitaires Laval, 1952, pp. xi, 485, \$10.00.) This is the first volume of a projected series of publications which in the future will make part of the rich manuscript holdings of the Archives du Séminaire de Québec more readily available to historians. Since the seminary has a limited staff and is not always able to permit visiting scholars to make immediate inspection of its collections, this series is especially welcome. The present volume includes a comprehensive index, a list of documents published in the book, an excellent bibliography, and is annotated with care and exacting scholarship. Chosen from the Viger-Verreault collection are documents arranged in chronological order relating to the Anglo-French struggle for the Ohio region in the 1750's. Claude-Pierre Pécaudy

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

de Contrecoeur emerges from these pages as a capable French officer who was awarded the cross of the Order of Saint Louis for his services. As commandant of Niagara he cared for the troops moving south from Canada; and later he assumed command of all the posts in the Ohio area and directed the construction of Fort Duquesne. The French side of the Jumonville affair and events leading up to the British defeat on the Monongahela in July of 1755 are also revealed in this volume. Of particular interest to the specialist are the forty-eight pages devoted to French translations of Washington's journal of 1754, the original of which has not been located. Printed in parallel columns are the extract of the journal from the Viger-Verreau collection and the longer translation which was published in Paris in 1756 (part eight of the *Mémoire contenant le Précis de Faits*). The texts of the two versions are sufficiently different so that it appears that two separate translations were made; and it is also evident that the same English text was used. Although the editor has given a summary of the long-standing controversies relating to this journal, he apparently did not have an opportunity to consult Douglas Freeman's scholarly critique. It is hoped that subsequent volumes in this series will maintain Professor Grenier's high standard of historical editing.

WILBUR R. JACOBS, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

ELISHA KENT KANE AND THE SEAFARING FRONTIER. By *Jeannette Mirsky*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. viii, 201, \$3.00.) Our American heroes of the Arctic have been pretty much forgotten. This vivid, absorbing, fast-paced narrative will restore to living memory the career of one of them, Elisha Kent Kane (1820-1857). Springing from a Philadelphia family of culture and substance, he found opportunity to travel widely, acquire a medical degree, and engage in minor forms of public service. He was with Caleb Cushing on the mission to the Far East, and for President Polk he performed a confidential task that took him to Mexico City. With the early life of the subject dealt with in the first four chapters of her book, Mrs. Mirsky in the remaining eight presents Kane in his reputation-winning roles of Arctic traveler and explorer. He was medical officer on the U.S. Grinnell expedition of 1850-1851, and leader of the expedition of 1853-1855. From these voyages he gathered the experience and scientific knowledge recorded in his two books, published in 1853 and 1856. The two expeditions on which he served set forth with the intention of finding Sir John Franklin's lost party. In the course of these searches, unsuccessful, Kane learned how to live in the Arctic as the Eskimo lived, in respect to food, clothing, and transport. Mrs. Mirsky writes entertainingly and picturesquely of the northern perils, heroisms, and adventures of the exploring parties with which Kane was connected. He stands revealed as a highly intelligent, resourceful man, one who advanced the techniques of successful Arctic exploration by taking over Eskimo principles. Mrs. Mirsky hints at rather than demonstrates how Kane's primary adaptations afterward were taken up and pushed further in Arctic work by his successors. The nature and descent of his later influence are thus inadequately shown. The volume is attractively printed and bound. Footnotes have been eliminated; a brief bibliography is furnished. Welcome would have been a more detailed map of the Arctic than the one furnished, and also a likeness of Kane himself.

FULMER MOOD, *University of Texas*

CONFEDERATE AGENT: A DISCOVERY IN HISTORY. By *James D. Horan*. (New York, Crown Publishers, 1954, pp. xxii, 326, \$5.00.) The central figure of James D. Horan's study of Civil War espionage and conspiracy is the "mastermind," Captain Thomas Henry Hines, C.S.A., the "most dangerous man in the Confed-

eracy." This entertainingly written "discovery in history" presents initially a brief account of Hines's work in preparation for and in execution of General Morgan's raid in 1863, the capture and the controversial escape of the raiders from the Ohio Penitentiary, and subsequently develops Hines's important espionage work, based upon the Thompson-Clay mission in Canada. Hines repeatedly and easily passed over the border into the Old Northwest, where he established contacts with "choice spirits" and groups, with whom he plotted fantastic uprisings designed to detach the Old Northwest from the Union, burn Chicago, seize control of the Great Lakes, and free Confederates from prison camps. During 1864 diversionary raids into Maine and Vermont (Horan's account of the St. Albans raid is hilarious) were planned and executed, and conspirators attempted to burn New York City. Yet everywhere these wild schemes, significantly timed for election day of 1864, were either postponed indefinitely or frustrated by counterespionage agents. Mr. Horan has largely traversed familiar ground in retelling the story of the "hidden" or underground Civil War. Unfortunately his acquaintance with the period is inadequate. His account of the Knights of the Golden Circle after 1861 is unsatisfactory; he attributes disloyalty rather too freely to Northern Democrats (admittedly in a difficult position as wartime opposition leaders); and he fails to consider the wartime psychosis which afflicted hard-pressed Republican politicians of the Middle West. Although using for the first time the Hines Papers at the University of Kentucky and materials in the National Archives, the author does not document his devious pages by precise citations. Various errors cannot be listed, but historians will be startled to read that "the Reverend Robert J. Breckinridge, was one of the South's most loyal supporters" (p. 145). While Hollywood may be interested in this "discovery," sober students will continue to rely upon Wood Gray's *Hidden Civil War* or even Rhodes's fifth volume.

OLLINGER CRENSHAW, *Washington and Lee University*

GENERAL JO SHELBY, UNDEFEATED REBEL. By *Daniel O'Flaherty*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xiv, 437, \$6.00.) This is a biography of one of the most colorful Confederate cavalrymen who fought in the Trans-Mississippi Department during the Civil War. John Newman Edwards, Shelby's adjutant, wrote two books on his exploits, and other writers have given him some attention. Edwards, in beautiful prose, pictured him as the heroic, hard-fighting knight of the border. In addition to Shelby's war record, this book covers his early life in Kentucky, business activities before the war, participation in the Kansas border troubles, the dash into Mexico, and his business and public career following the war. The thesis of the book is that Shelby was the greatest of the Civil War cavalry leaders, and had he been put in command in the West the Confederates would have captured St. Louis, held Missouri, and saved the West for the Confederacy. Instead he was kept in an inferior position. Whether on a raid, in battle, or protecting the rear of a defeated army, Shelby, by furious attack, spectacular movements, and unerring judgment, proved himself a field commander and tactician of the first order. The book is attractively written and holds the reader closely to the end. Unfortunately it is not based on careful and thorough research, and often the best sources are ignored. No bibliography is included, but the footnotes indicate that a secondary text often takes the place of a good primary source that was available. Often citations are inaccurate and not related to the text. There are many errors on the geography, military, and political events. For instance Dover is ten miles west of Waverly, not "five and a half miles east" (p. 27); Howard and Lafayette counties were not included in Order No. Eleven (p. 188); the western border counties

were not rabid secessionists in 1860, they voted for Bell and Douglas (p. 53). More important insofar as Shelby is concerned, the battle of Carthage (pp. 67-72) was not fought by two armies of equal size, nor was one (Sigel's Unionist) a well-trained one of professional "hired Hessians," while the Missouri forces were a group of raw recruits. Both bands were recruits, although Sigel's troops were probably better armed. Shelby did punish Sigel considerably, but Sigel fought a good rear guard action and Shelby did not crush a well-trained army with a crowd of young militiamen. Other instances of doubtful interpretation and insufficient research can be cited. Shelby was a skillful fighter, a hard rider, and a dashing figure but his definitive biography is yet to be written.

W. FRANCIS ENGLISH, *University of Missouri*

U. S. GRANT AND THE AMERICAN MILITARY TRADITION. By *Bruce Catton*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. x, 210, \$3.00.) Misconceptions as to U. S. Grant's stature as a general seem to flow largely from historical writers without much basis for judging military matters and assessing generalship. The present reappraisal stems from distinguished British soldiers and military students: Major C. F. Atkinson and General J. F. G. Fuller, and to a less degree from Generals Sir Frederick Maurice and Colin Ballard. Colonel A. L. Conger of the United States Army also made a notable contribution. After writing the brilliant *The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant* (1929), Fuller made a frankly comparative study, *Grant and Lee* (1933), in which he refers to Grant as "the greatest general of his age, and one of the greatest strategists of any age." Though familiar with what the writers mentioned have said, Mr. Catton is not a mere transmitter of views of others, and his description of Grant's part in the Civil War is fresh and personal and reveals a careful study of the *Official Records*. It is quite adequate for a volume with the purposes of the present one, and it follows an equally adequate account of the thirty-nine preceding years, which hardly indicated the genius of the man to whom three armies would surrender. Mr. Catton says that Grant's career as President was unfortunate for him, and for the country, though, in the case of the latter, "less so, for Grant was symbol rather than cause of the darkness that came down after the war ended." Tempering this, he adds, "And that darkness was never absolute." Mr. Catton reveals the enormity of the problems that faced the ex-general, as well as the fiercely contending forces and implacable personalities of the era. One sees the mistakes, but also realizes that Grant's administration saw some notable achievements—especially in foreign relations and sound currency. If the race problem was not settled, could it have been? Catton states that Grant at least tried to point reconstruction "in the right direction." He terminates his brief consideration of the years after the presidency by describing how the original manuscript for the *Memoirs* shows the agony of the struggle to complete the work. Again it could be said: "What he had set out to do, Grant had done."

KENNETH P. WILLIAMS, *Indiana University*

PARDON AND AMNESTY UNDER LINCOLN AND JOHNSON: THE RESTORATION OF THE CONFEDERATES TO THEIR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES, 1861-1898. By *Jonathan Truman Dorris*. Introduction by J. G. Randall. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, pp. xxi, 459, \$7.50.) The subject of pardon and amnesty following the Civil War has long needed serious investigation. It has had incidental consideration from many historians of the Reconstruction era, but no one has hitherto made anything approaching a comprehensive study. Dr. Dorris began his study more than twenty-five years ago under the direction of the late

James G. Randall, who wrote a stimulating introduction to this volume shortly before his death. Several articles by Dr. Dorris have been the most valuable of previous publications and they marked him as the man best qualified to handle the subject on a full scale. This excellent volume comes up to expectations. Based on extensive use of the amnesty papers in the National Archives, as well as other manuscript and printed materials, it examines the problem from the early period of the war when questions of loyalty and disloyalty arose in connection with prisoners of war to 1898 when the last of the disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment were removed. In addition to chapters dealing with the general aspects of the problem there are special chapters on Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, other civil leaders of the Confederacy, and North Carolinians. A special chapter on North Carolina is justified on the ground that President Johnson gave that state special consideration, but the author expresses the hope that "it will encourage similar studies of the subject in other states of the Confederacy." One thing is abundantly clear from Dr. Dorris' volume: this was an exceedingly complicated problem. It involved not only political rights but also civil rights and property rights; it involved conflict between the Executive and Congress; and on many occasions it became a matter for the courts. The author occasionally wanders into areas not fully pertinent to his subject, but for the most part he has succeeded in making a clear and intelligible presentation and all students of this period of American history will be indebted to him.

BRAINERD DYER, *University of California, Los Angeles*

LINCOLN'S IMAGERY: A STUDY IN WORD POWER. By *Theodore C. Blegen*. (La Crosse, Wis., Emerson G. Wulling, Sumac Press, 1954, pp. 32, \$2.00.) "No one," Mr. Blegen observes, "seems hitherto to have brought together in somewhat comprehensive fashion the figures of speech used by Lincoln, and that inviting task seems worth doing for more than one reason. The imagery assuredly helps to explain the charm of the Lincolnian style, but it does more. It illuminates Lincoln's power and persuasiveness in the use of words. It catches and reflects his curious interest in and knowledge of the world of everyday things around him. It is of some value as a sounding of the folk wisdom of pioneer America, particularly the earlier Middle West. And, viewed in its totality, it adds something to one's understanding of the intellectual and cultural resources of a central figure in the history of the modern world." Most convincingly indeed, Mr. Blegen assembles and sorts Lincoln's figures into related groups, and with entertaining causerie weaves the groups into patterns illustrative of his thesis: "Lincoln's familiarity with the earthiness of pioneer farming, soil and implements and animals and produce," "plants, food, housekeeping and clothing," "illness, pills, and plasters; games and races; and ships and the sea," "prize fights, cards, races, and fishing." In no small degree, the everlasting image of Lincoln himself is limned in these figures with which he projected his thoughts—thoughts which "were in fact his, not the concoctions of ghost writers" who in "a synthetic era" have all but obliterated distinctive features of personality from the public expression of high political leaders by clothing their ideas and policies in machine-made garments of synthetic goods.

ROY P. BASLER, *Library of Congress*

THE CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS AND GRANT'S PEACE POLICY, 1870-1884. By *Peter J. Rahill*, St. Louis University. Foreword by the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1953, pp. xx, 396, \$5.00.) This book, published as Volume XLI of "Studies in American Church History," gives a comprehensive account of the activities of the

Catholic Church among the Indians during a very crucial period of Indian administration. Soon after Grant became President in 1869 he placed the Indian Field Service under the control of several religious organizations by delegating to them the authority to nominate agents for the various Indian jurisdictions. In the allocation of agencies the Methodists were given fourteen with a total of 54,473 Indians, the Presbyterians nine with 38,069 Indians, and the Baptists five with 40,800 Indians. To the Catholics, in spite of their long tradition of Indian mission work, were given only seven agencies with a total of 17,856 Indians. The Catholics felt that this distribution of agencies was grossly unjust and soon formed in Washington the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions headed by General Charles Ewing. Its objectives were to strengthen relations with the United States Indian Department, promote Indian missions, and secure a fairer allocation of agencies. Due largely to politics it was never able to add to the number of agencies assigned to the Catholic Church but it did excellent work in the establishment of schools and missions and won a signal victory for religious liberty for the Indians over certain non-Catholic agents who sought to prohibit priests from holding services or establishing churches and schools on their reservations. Grant's so called "Peace Policy" did not prove too successful and by 1882 was virtually abandoned. Ewing died in 1883 but the Bureau still lived on to establish missions and promote the welfare of the Indians. Though bitterly attacked at times, its activities were steadily expanded and it is today an official organization of the Catholic Church. This is an interesting and scholarly book which shows every evidence of long and careful research. Any person who reads it with care can hardly escape the conclusion that those charged with the administration of Grant's peace policy grossly discriminated against the Catholics and failed to give them the consideration which they deserved by virtue of their long record of missionary work among the Indians.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

THE MAKAH INDIANS: A STUDY OF AN INDIAN TRIBE IN MODERN AMERICAN SOCIETY. By *Elizabeth Colson*, Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology in the University of Manchester. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press; Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1953, pp. xvi, 308, \$4.75.) This is an excellent study of the habits and problems of a group of modern American Indians, the Makah of coastal Washington. The preface sets forth the field methodology employed and is an unusually good statement of how anthropologists go about their job of undertaking field research. The body of the book is an acculturation study in depth, giving the historic causes that have led up to modern reservation conditions. Reservation life is subjected to a rigorously searching analysis of the functional interrelationships involved in the various Indian-White contact situations existing today. The conclusions are presented so that the reader is given valuable insights into the processes of culture change, particularly in regard to native peoples who have felt the impact of Western civilization. In short, this book might well serve as a model for any anthropologist who would attempt a field study of a group of modern reservation Indians. In fact, everyone interested in the practical problems involved in trusteeship over native peoples should consult this study. The twin processes of acculturation and assimilation are discussed along with the results obtained in a specific example where those processes have been deliberately conditioned by government policy.

J. A. JONES, *Indiana University*

THE OLD COUNTRY STORE. By *Gerald Carson*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 330, \$5.00.) The old country store was a vital institution when

the United States was a land of villages, crossroads trading centers, and primitive farm communities. Historians are generally aware of its utility as a community center and of its essential functions in the nineteenth-century American economy. Gerald Carson adds little that is new to this story, but he records with great charm the folklore with which oral tradition surrounds the country storekeeper. *The Old Country Store* is unabashedly romantic, anecdotal, and, at points, imaginary. The author, who retired young, healthy, and successful from the contemporary merchandising world, was here engaged in a labor of love rather than of professional scholarship. His limited excursions into general history are unfortunate—his description, for instance, of economic conditions in the 1780's might have come from the pen of John Fiske. He is completely at home, on the other hand, among the loafers around the potbellied stove; his reach for the cracker barrel is long, and his tall tales, outrageous. The author also has a sure grasp of the merchandising process. His study is focused on the society and operation of the store itself, but despite this concentration on the middleman, he takes frequent note of the increasing flow of goods from producer to jobber to storekeeper to customer. He describes the storekeeper's journey to the city warehouses for stock, and his negotiations with the drummers who later made such trips unnecessary. He records the early competitive threat of the peddler, the more ominous rise of the mail order houses, and the bankruptcy which came with the Ford car. He gives a nod to evolving credit institutions, as the storekeeper proceeded from barter to bookkeeping. General analysis is not the author's purpose, however; instead of offering dates, statistics, and summarized facts, he attempts to convey a sense of the sight and smell of goods on the storekeeper's shelf, and he lingers fascinated over the sharp trading which kept his subjects solvent. *The Old Country Store* is thus an impressionistic, though generally accurate, sketch, rather than a documented chapter in the record of the merchandising revolution in the United States.

ROBERT A. LIVELY, *University of Wisconsin*

HISTORY OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE. By *Courtney Robert Hall*, History Department, Queens College. (New York, Library Publishers, 1954, pp. xix, 453, \$4.95.) After a brief pass at American economic development from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, the author settles down to describe with more detail the technological changes of the twentieth century. The exceptionally clear narrative is organized about transportation, particularly in the air, the chemicals, electric and communication industries, mining for metals and fuels, rubber, pulp and paper, the provision of clothing and food, and business and engineering machines. The volume concludes with two chapters, sprinkled with irrelevant *obiter dicta*, on industrial science in America's wars and in 1952. Although the book is written for the general reader, those addicted to a habit of analysis will inevitably raise the question, "What is 'Industrial Science?'" Since no elaborate definition furnishes a key to the answer, the narrative will have to supply it. Apparently it consists of science in industry or technology, including in that word both inventive and productive processes. In addition it apparently means a brief word about business organization and the size of business units. In some instances these take the form of success stories such as the readers of *Fortune* have become accustomed to. If this be industrial science, there are critical omissions in the history of it. On the one hand there is no treatment of technical or engineering education in the United States. This would seem a prerequisite to any discussion of invention, plant engineering, or industrial laboratories. In this connection there is no mention of F. W. Taylor and the efficiency movement. On the other hand, if business organization is to

be included in industrial science, the failure to pay any attention to the efforts to make a science of business, to systematize and rationalize organization and discipline within the industrial unit is a grave one. Only in the chapter on national defense is this defect partially met. The author rather disarmingly says, "this is not a book on labor problems." It would seem an obligation imposed by the title to include a discussion of the organization—I don't mean unions—of labor in productive enterprises. Perhaps it would be easier to re-define industrial science. It seems to be economic history with agriculture, labor, marketing, and finance subtracted.

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND, *Bowdoin College*

THE DOCTRINE OF RESPONSIBLE PARTY GOVERNMENT: ITS ORIGINS AND PRESENT STATE. By *Austin Ranney*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXIV, No. 3.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1954, pp. xi, 176, cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.00.) This essay is a comprehensive study of half a dozen scholars' interpretations published between 1870 and 1915. The author explores their commentaries on the nature of democracy, on political parties and their functions and efficiency, and on how parties might be improved. The divergence of opinions among these scholars is astonishing. Woodrow Wilson, for example, regarded political parties as indispensable to democratic government while Herbert Croly held that they might provide government that is "representative" but not "democratic." M. I. Ostrogorski saw less than any value whatever in permanent political parties and devised elaborate procedures for ensuring universal nonpartisanship. The pioneer venture in the theory of political parties was young Woodrow Wilson's "Cabinet Government in the United States" published in 1879 in the *International Review* edited then by Henry Cabot Lodge. Writing under the spell of Bagehot, Wilson proclaimed his theory of quasi-parliamentary government in the United States and as President came near demonstrating its practicability. Herbert Croly, however, maintained that presidential leadership was destructive of party strength and party leadership. A. Lawrence Lowell's outstanding contribution was that of the "brokerage" of political parties whereby public opinion can be expressed, the "broker" bringing together the voters and their government. Frank J. Goodnow's proposal to break the power of the party bosses by party primaries was vigorously denounced by Henry J. Ford as destructive of parties. Ford saw no sense in taking government away from the politicians and giving it to the people. It is fascinating to see Professor Ranney censuring these scholars for their inconsistencies with all the frankness of a hard-boiled director of a graduate seminar. They won't define "democracy" and they persistently shift back and forth between actual and ideal conceptions of "party" and of "party functions." They are "guilty of this shell game." Other apparent inconsistencies could be understood if the dates of the quotations were only noted. Woodrow Wilson's criticisms published when the House of Representatives was floundering before Czar Reed had established parliamentary order would inevitably contrast sharply with his comments in *Constitutional Government* published near the end of Theodore Roosevelt's vigorous presidential leadership.

WILFRED E. BINKLEY, *Ohio Northern University*

WILLIAM FREEMAN VILAS, DOCTRINAIRE DEMOCRAT. By *Horace Samuel Merrill*, Associate Professor of History in the University of Maryland. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954, pp. vii, 310, \$4.50.) In *Bourbon Democracy of the Middle West, 1865-1896* (1953) Mr. Merrill surveyed a phase of American politics which theretofore had received very little attention as compared with Republicanism, regular or insurgent, or with third-party movements. Now, in a well-

documented and judiciously written biography of a leading Midwestern Bourbon, William F. Vilas (1840-1908), of Wisconsin, he adds a dimension to his previous study and increases our understanding of the successes, and still more of the failures, of the post-bellum Democracy in the state and in the nation. One of the innumerable nineteenth-century Vermonters who made their careers outside of Vermont, Vilas rose to the rank of millionaire as a railroad attorney and timberland speculator in Madison, Wisconsin. In Grover Cleveland's first administration he served as Postmaster General and then as Secretary of the Interior, meanwhile becoming the President's closest cabinet adviser and crony. During Cleveland's second term he was the most faithful administration spokesman in the Senate. He held stubbornly to such tenets of old-fashioned "doctrinaire" liberalism as tariff reduction, civil service reform, efficient government, and "sound" currency. By present-day standards he was, of course, a thoroughgoing conservative if not a reactionary, though in many ways an enlightened one. He had much more in common with his friend and fellow corporation lawyer John C. Spooner and other regular Republicans than with the discontented farmer and labor elements of his own party. At the Democratic convention in 1896 his oratory, once the wonder of Midwestern Democrats, was completely eclipsed by that of William Jennings Bryan, and so was his national career. His public life had been rather barren, leaving little to posterity except for the high standard he had set as a zealous administrator in Cleveland's cabinet. The reader of his biography is likely to conclude that he is best remembered as a wise and generous friend of the University of Wisconsin, his alma mater, to which in life he devoted considerable attention as a regent, and to which at death he willed the bulk of his fortune.

RICHARD N. CURRENT, *University of Illinois*

WILLIAM McKINLEY, STALWART REPUBLICAN: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY.

By *William Carl Spielman*, Former Professor of History, Carthage College, Carthage, Illinois. (New York, Exposition Press, 1954, pp. 215, \$4.00.) In this slender volume Professor Spielman has attempted to present an up-to-date biography of William McKinley incorporating material published since C. S. Olcott's two volumes appeared in 1916. This he has accomplished only fairly well. Unfortunately, he has neglected many important contributions, among them Thomas A. Bailey's investigation of the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Julius W. Pratt's examination of the expansionists of 1898, and Alfred Weinberg's research on the concept of manifest destiny. More important, however, is that Mr. Spielman has failed to dig deeply, as a real biographer must, into the manuscript collection to learn the motives and feelings of McKinley and the men of his time. Although the author refers to the McKinley Papers in the Library of Congress, he apparently has made no use of them. While this collection yields only meager information, it does contain some important letters and memorandums. So too, the Hay Papers, the Root Papers, the Henry White Papers, the Russell A. Alger Papers, and the Rutherford B. Hayes Papers, to name a few, should have been consulted. Unfortunately too, Professor Spielman has not achieved his purpose of assigning McKinley his place in history, of recapturing his personality and character, or of presenting him as "a protectionist, builder of an empire, political-party leader, and patriot." For him and for most of us, McKinley remains as John Hay portrayed him, a man behind a mask. Whether or not there was a weak, vacillating second-rate politician or a leader of men beneath that mask continues an unanswered question. Few of the author's judgments seem to be his own, for he credits most opinions to earlier writers. His conclusion regarding the critical events preceding the Spanish American War reveals only a limited knowledge and understanding of the pressures of the times. For the gen-

eral reader, Mr. Spielman offers here a brief, essentially accurate biography of William McKinley; for the scholar, he provides little that is new.

EVERETT WALTERS, *Ohio State University*

THE REPUBLICAN ROOSEVELT. By *John Morton Blum*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 170, \$3.50.) While historians have pictured Theodore Roosevelt as one of the most dynamic and important political figures of modern America they have differed sharply in making him out to be a liberal or a conservative. This is easily understandable when Roosevelt himself was not sure whether he was a "conservative radical" or a "radical conservative." This difference of opinion also stems from the complex character of Roosevelt and from the fact that he frequently appeared to be a bundle of contradictions. Professor John Morton Blum of M.I.T. in an exciting, able, and provocative essay seeks to explain Roosevelt and to fix for him a more determined place in history. Mr. Blum's study does not explain the whole of Roosevelt but reinterprets "purposes and methods" of his public career which seemed to the author "to be characteristic or revealing." With learning, sympathy, understanding, and humor and from a remarkable point of vantage as an associate editor of *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Mr. Blum has come up with a very important book. The major importance of Mr. Blum's essay is his emphasis upon Roosevelt as a conservative who showed more concern about the processes than the ends of government and who believed that the preservation of these processes depended upon change. Thus Roosevelt emerges as a do-something type of conservative who believed in change, gradual though it may be and within the framework of existing institutions, and who sought change through good administration and by appointing men to office who possessed the right moral fiber to conduct it. Mr. Blum also presents Roosevelt as a professional politician who made politics his career because he loved power. Yet in his drive for power Roosevelt avoided opportunism, "tempered his pragmatism with sympathy and morality," and at all times directed his power with expert information. Mr. Blum has some very valuable chapters that show the excellence of Roosevelt's group diplomacy in politics and his ability to deal with Congress. Especially interesting is the agreement between Roosevelt and Cannon and Aldrich over the dropping of the matter of a revised tariff for support of Roosevelt's plan to regulate the railroads through the Hepburn Act. Mr. Blum makes skillful use of his material here and through keen historical analysis throws fresh light on Roosevelt's lawmaking activities. Mr. Blum's study has certain shortcomings which mar it somewhat. One looks in vain for any fresh material on Roosevelt's political career after 1909. This was a disappointment since this era would have provided a fertile and much needed field for reinterpretation, and Mr. Blum's point of vantage could have been used most successfully here. One is also struck by the sympathetic and at times laudatory appraisal of Roosevelt, especially in his conduct of foreign affairs. Here may be a case of the author being taken in somewhat by his subject. Finally one matter of style is disturbing. One finds a number of awkward sentences that in some cases compress and in others attenuate the thought and which in both instances fail to convey clear meaning.

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS, *University of Notre Dame*

IDEAS AND WEAPONS: EXPLOITATION OF THE AERIAL WEAPON BY THE UNITED STATES DURING WORLD WAR I; A STUDY IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE, MILITARY DOCTRINE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEAPONS. By *I. B. Holley, Jr.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, LVII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. xii, 222,

\$3.75.) The inability of the United States Air Service in World War I to adapt technological advances to military techniques is the subject of Dr. Irving Holley's study in administrative history. The abortive attempts of the United States to produce battle-worthy aircraft despite a huge industrial potential and the vast amounts of money appropriated by Congress has already been chronicled. Unfortunately, past studies ignored a wealth of material in the National Archives. Dr. Holley has relentlessly traced and documented the military policy makers' failure to decide upon either a "doctrine" of air power—the respective roles of pursuit, observation, and bombing planes—or the production of specific types of aircraft. Even a research and development program was lacking. As a result, the United States-produced aircraft were only copies of Allied models—and not of the best models—which were obsolescent by the time they came off the production line. The only bright spot was the development of the 440-horsepower Liberty engine, which was installed in planes designed for other power plants! The Air Service's attempts to catch up with European developments by sending missions overseas were ineffective. By the time the missions' reports were digested in Washington, they were out of date. Furthermore, the Service's administrative organization separated the men responsible for manufacturing the planes from the men flying them. Consequently, the few planes finally produced in the United States were not suitable for their missions. Through this historical study Dr. Holley points out in no uncertain terms the prime necessity for providing a continuing administrative system with enough imagination and aggression to bring to fruition "the relationship of technological advance, military doctrine, and the development of weapons."

MARVIN D. BERNSTEIN, *Washington, D.C.*

WOODROW WILSON AND THE REBIRTH OF POLAND, 1914-1920: A STUDY IN THE INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN POLICY OF MINORITY GROUPS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN. By *Louis L. Gerson*, Instructor in Government and International Relations, University of Connecticut. [Yale Historical Publications: Miscellany, 58.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 166, \$4.00.) This book is more readable than the average doctoral dissertation. It is replete with footnotes, has an excellent essay on bibliography, several appendixes, and an index. There are no maps nor pictures although some of each, aptly chosen, would have added to the book. In the eighteenth century Poland was partitioned by three greedy neighbors, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The rest of Europe was uninterested and, on the whole, the Polish population was indifferent. Efforts of the few nineteenth-century patriots to arouse the peasants to a nationalistic revolt ended in failure. A lingering serfdom, an ancient Catholicism, and a rural individualism all helped to create an acceptance of partition. Early in the twentieth century Polish patriots hindered their nationalistic aspirations by dividing into several political parties. With ambitious leaders, with philosophies varying from conservative to radical, with divergent prejudices against their partitioners, the Polish nationalists were too divided to achieve their independence. For their own military advantage Austria and Germany feigned interest in Polish independence. Although the Polish kingdom was created in 1916, Germany informed the Poles that the territory they received would be at the expense of Russia. In retaliation Russia gave the Poles autonomy under her supervision. America's entrance into the war made Polish independence a reality. The author analyzes the gratitude of the United States for aid rendered by Poles in the American Revolutionary War, our traditional feeling for oppressed peoples, the world economic conditions, and the political pressure exerted by Polish-Americans during the war. Paderewski, an agent of the pro-Russian bloc of Poles, worked

through House and others to gain Wilson's friendship. The collapse of Russia, Austria, and Germany set the stage for Poland's restoration, not for immediate unity and independence. Many conferences were held to effect compromises on the complex issue of Poland's boundaries. Poland reborn, began to expand. As she did so American enthusiasm cooled. Not so with France who wished an expanded Poland. Professor Gerson has probably written the definitive monograph on this complex Polish independence issue.

GEORGE C. OSBORN, *University of Florida*

THE FUNDAMENTALIST CONTROVERSY, 1918-1931. By *Norman F. Furniss*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, 59.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 199, \$3.75.) The notorious Scopes trial is here placed in the context of national religious and political trends during the 1920's, and the anti-evolution crusade is seen as a phenomenon not limited to the South. While lacking in the color of the late Frederick Lewis Allen's account in *Only Yesterday*, this book is a thorough, systematic, judicious, and well-documented study of the Fundamentalist movement, the outgrowth of a Yale Ph.D. dissertation directed by Ralph H. Gabriel. It is superior to and will supersede Stewart Cole's *History of Fundamentalism* (1931) and Maynard Shipley's *The War on Modern Science* (1927). It is organized largely on a topical basis. An introduction recalling briefly the famous scene at Dayton, Tennessee, is followed by a survey of the background and sources of the movement and an analysis of the characteristics of the Fundamentalists. The second part deals with Fundamentalist organizations and with the effort to outlaw the teaching of evolution. The third and longest section takes up the controversy within various denominations—Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian, and Disciples—each in turn. There is an excellent bibliographical essay and an index. The book is based largely on a sampling of the vast periodical and polemical literature dealing with the subject, of which the Library of Congress holds the most extensive collection. It is regrettable that manuscript sources for this topic and for the history of religious thought in general are so hard to find, for they would lend a richness of insight which printed materials rarely supply. One could wish that Dr. Furniss had succeeded better in depicting the personalities and mentalities of such Fundamentalist leaders as William Bell Riley, John Roach Straton, and, above all, William Jennings Bryan. The study might also have been improved by more attention to the earlier history of the struggle over evolution and higher criticism and by more adequate recognition of the persistence of conservative evangelical theology in our own times.

IRA V. BROWN, *Pennsylvania State University*

THE HISTORIAN AND THE ARMY. By *Kent Roberts Greenfield*. [The 1953 Brown and Haley Lectures, College of Puget Sound.] (New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1954, pp. vi, 93, \$2.50.) This little volume by the general editor of the United States Army's official history of the Second World War merits the attention of historians; for it represents a distillation of the experience gained in planning and executing one of the largest contemporary history projects ever attempted, a project notable for the general high level of scholarship which its volumes have achieved. Dr. Greenfield describes the general nature of his problem; explains by an example the particular problem of reconstructing the history of a battle, involving the attempt to pierce the fog of war; discusses the army's outlook on coalition strategy and the policies it tried to enforce; presents some observations on the nature of the United States Army as it developed during the war; and ends with a few general remarks, including the somewhat alarming reflection that "the primary mission of the Army under our present system is, quantitatively speaking, no longer ground combat, but administration." Once a note is struck which some readers

might think complacent. The author begins by saying that his series "is of general interest if only as an effort to make official history honest." The series is in fact an impressive example of objectivity; but those who know him will realize that he did not mean what this comment might seem to imply. The statement (p. 46) that the British "committed themselves to" an invasion of the Continent in 1942 goes rather beyond the facts. (Incidentally, American official historians seem to take the view that General Eisenhower's postwar remark, that he had come to believe that the British were right in 1942, is unfit for repetition.) The strategic controversies with the United Kingdom are carefully, and often enlighteningly, analyzed (the good point is made that the United States "power drive" policy made increasingly good sense as the Allies' logistical situation improved); but much less is said of the army's other great strategic argument—that with the United States Navy. However, there are limits to what can be said in ninety-three small pages, and Dr. Greenfield has given us a great deal.

C. P. STACEY, *Ottawa, Canada*

THREE BATTLES: ARNAVILLE, ALTUZZO, AND SCHMIDT. By *Charles B. MacDonald and Sidney T. Mathews*. [United States Army in World War II.] (Washington, Department of the Army, 1952, pp. xxiii, 443, \$4.00.) This is a good book. It is more than an excellent text for troop leaders at battalion and regimental levels. To the student of general history, it offers interesting case studies. They explain why the word "battle" no longer means what it did in all wars from Thucydides to Clausewitz. No longer does the word connote a mighty collision of concentrated, hostile forces that lock themselves in a crucial conflict within a restricted, but strategic area. No longer is it a Saratoga, a Waterloo, a Gettysburg, or any other type of two-three- or four-day, all-out gamble upon which the fate of a campaign, if not a nation, may be determined. Since 1914, a modern Sir Edward S. Creasy would be hard put to cite a single decisive land battle within the traditional meaning of the word. Naval battles, yes; land battles, no. To the modern individual soldier, the word "battle" is more an emotional experience than a military operation. Normally, "battles" were those times and places at which he was painfully aware of the constantly "incoming mail"; that "pinned him down" the longest or took the greatest friendly toll in his advance. Elsewhere, in each instance, it could have been an extremely "quiet day along the front." Thus the operations here understudy, at Arnaville, Monte Altuzzo, and Schmidt, were most likely battles to most of those rather limited numbers of officers and men of both armies who were constantly reminded of being within the harshly beaten zones of fire from ground weapons. Actually, Messrs. MacDonald and Mathews have offered three distinct types of operations—an opposed river crossing, a mountain action, and an attack through heavily fortified field positions. For the close-up, almost microscopic views of modern combat that they are intended to be, they are well chosen, admirably mapped, and forcefully told. Mr. MacDonald handles a maze of conflicting testimony extremely well. There are many paragraphs of superb reporting. Dr. Mathews' "Breakthrough at Monte Altuzzo," September 9-17, 1944, has a decisive quality. Though the final objective on the map was just another mountain top, an entire hostile front collapsed when that much coveted bit of barren real estate was occupied. This is a well-done study in tactics and techniques of mountain warfare—devastating artillery support with small units in aggressive, infiltrative contact. For students in tactics of the associated arms (artillery, air, armor, infantry) *Three Battles* will be required reading. For all others it offers a somewhat orderly, microscopic pattern of busy days in hot sectors in the continuance of operations on a far-flung front.

JIM DAN HILL, *Wisconsin State College, Superior*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

GORGES OF PLYMOUTH FORT: A LIFE OF SIR FERDINANDO GORGES, CAPTAIN OF PLYMOUTH FORT, GOVERNOR OF NEW ENGLAND, AND LORD OF THE PROVINCE OF MAINE. By *Richard Arthur Preston*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. vii, 495, \$7.50.) Sir Ferdinando Gorges (1568?-1647) is one of those people in history whose names crop up repeatedly as persons of influence and position but who are definitely of second rank. Gorges rode two horses during his life—as a military official at home and on the Continent and as a promoter of American colonization. His Council of New England (1620), whatever else may be said of it, was a private attempt to plant colonies in New England and govern them until the crown would assume the responsibility. It projected a managed type of colonial settlement under the aegis of English aristocrats who would rule from London. Under Charles I, especially in co-operation with the high church party of Archbishop Laud, Gorges worked out a colonization scheme that kept his earlier idea of a public colony, but its control was in the hands of royal officials. Financial reward for government and promoters, Gorges assumed, would come from a monopoly of fishing, fur-trading, and land sales. In those economic proposals he met the opposition of British fishermen, the Puritans of Massachusetts, and the antimonopolists. Gorges possessed visions of greatness, was often on the brink of success, but was held back by forces stronger than his own. Professor Preston has written a sober account of a dashing Elizabethan soldier and theorist. He has used most manuscripts and monographs of this period in an intelligent fashion and has corrected errors of fact and interpretation in the standard, scholarly studies of seventeenth-century colonization. The format of the book has serious shortcomings; the offset process is most uneven, blurred in places and heavily inked in others. Understandably, the enjoyment of the book is substantially reduced by such poor workmanship.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *Whittier College*

THE HUGUENOT: THE STORY OF THE HUGUENOT EMIGRATIONS, PARTICULARLY TO NEW ENGLAND, IN WHICH IS INCLUDED THE EARLY LIFE OF APOLLOS RIVOIRE, THE FATHER OF PAUL REVERE. By *Donald Douglas*. With an Introduction by C. C. Little. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1954, pp. 384, \$5.00.) The scope of Donald Douglas' volume is accurately represented by the subtitle. But neither the straightforward title nor anything recently put forth as serious historical writing prepares the reader for this book's curious message and the author's odd way of presenting it. If it had been revealed to Cotton Mather that the faith, practice, and "inherited mental characteristics" of the French Calvinists

were, after all, those things most pleasant in the sight of God, he would probably have written a book very much like this one. At intervals throughout the story of Apollos Rivoire's childhood in France, his emigration to America, and his apprenticeship to Boston goldsmith John Coney, worthy Huguenots are introduced to deliver lengthy lectures to him on the religious beliefs and tribulations of the French Calvinists. The history of the Huguenots in Europe and in America is thus unraveled and carried forward to the 1720's, at which point the story ends. Certain musings furnished by the author to young Rivoire make clear the significance of this history: France owed her misery and America her greatest glory to the Huguenot emigrations. The reader is informed that the French Huguenots alone of all the world are "logical," "witty," "well-mannered," "romantic," "obedient," "non-destructive," and have "a sense of the fitness of things." Apollos finds none of these excellent qualities among the majority of Boston Puritans, who even in the early 1700's are discovered plotting the American Revolution, to which they are being led by false theology and the promptings of inferior Anglo-Saxon blood. Apollos is told by someone of ancient New England lineage (who therefore ought to have known better) that New England learned her peculiar habits of intolerance, exclusiveness, and treason from the Plymouth Pilgrims, since the original Boston Puritans were actually "non-persecuting, tolerant, and loyal"! Generalizations of this sort, confusing and inaccurate, are all too frequent here. A modern study of the Huguenots in America could be a most welcome contribution to Americana. The work of Mr. Douglas, who formerly wrote novels with historical settings, is unfortunately marred by uncontrolled enthusiasms supported by insufficient research.

LAWRENCE G. LAVENGOOD, *Northwestern University*

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS IN THE REVOLUTION. By *Robert J. Taylor*. [Brown University Studies, Volume XVII.] (Providence, Brown University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 227, \$4.00.) American historians have too often assumed that radicalism in politics is characteristic of frontier areas. Robert J. Taylor has chosen to investigate the political and economic history of western Massachusetts from the Great Awakening to the ratification of the Constitution and in so doing suggests that democratic radicalism was more the result of lessons learned during the American Revolution than the result of frontier hardiness and isolated living. In this well-documented and clearly written regional study, the author introduces us to a people essentially conservative in political outlook and dominated by the wealthy "river gods" of the Connecticut Valley, men whose loyalty to the crown and opposition to the Whiggish doctrines of the seaboard was largely the result of patronage held at the royal pleasure. Separated from the coast by more than a hundred miles of semiwilderness traversed by few roads, the inhabitants of the Massachusetts frontier came to regard Boston and its ferments with jealous suspicion. Only when the Intolerable Acts threatened to create an independent judiciary did the West become agitated over the crown's prerogatives. Mr. Taylor denies that older historians were correct when they explained this conservatism by pointing to high property qualifications for the franchise. Very few, a negligible number, he insists, were disqualified at any time by this proviso. Clearly, a revolution took place in the minds and habits of these men from the time of the controversy over Jonathan Edwards' doctrines to Shays' Rebellion, and the primary cause is to be found in the War for Independence. The charge of Toryism thoroughly broke the power of conservative leadership, the doctrines of the Enlightenment wrought a great awakening of their own, and the taste of independence and direct rule through conventions all worked mightily to instill in the Massachusetts frontiersmen a mistrust of strong

central government which carried over into the ratifying convention of 1788. Shays' Rebellion is shown to be the culmination of grievances of long standing against unequal tax apportionment, against abuses in the legal machinery of the Commonwealth, and against the creditor class in general. It is of interest to note that veterans rose in anger against a government which had decreed the funding of Revolutionary certificates at face value without compensation to original holders. Why the Jeffersonians made so little headway in this area during the 1790's is, of course, a question. This study will undoubtedly become the standard account of Shays' Rebellion and will be of great value to students for this reason alone, but it deserves attention for its examination of frontier political development and the often mistaken generalizations which have arisen from earlier concepts of it.

STEPHEN G. KURTZ, *Kent School*

THE HISTORY OF VOTING IN NEW JERSEY: A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ELECTION MACHINERY, 1664-1911. By *Richard P. McCormick*. [Rutgers Studies in History, Number 8.] (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1953, pp. xii, 228, \$5.00.) The author's purpose in this book is to show how the development of the election machinery in one colony and state contributes to our understanding of the functioning of self-government. From the time the English took possession in 1664 until the major Progressive reforms under Woodrow Wilson in 1911, election institutions in New Jersey were determined more by practical considerations than by political theories or principles. Important were such items as the conflicts for power between the people and proprietary and crown officials, the pull of tradition and the desire for experimentation during and after the Revolution, the influence of national elections in creating uniformity of election practices, party conflicts which brought changes to benefit the party in power, the issue of Negro participation in politics, urbanization and the influx of foreign elements, corruption and boss politics, and finally the influence of Progressive reforms. The latter resulted in a complete primary system, improved registration procedures, and a secret blanket-type ballot—reforms which shifted political control from the bosses to the people and restored the party as an instrument for expressing popular sentiment. By 1911 the main features of the New Jersey election system had been established, though there have been some minor changes since that date. In addition to his thesis that practical considerations determined voting procedures in New Jersey, Mr. McCormick's chief contribution is his contention that New Jersey was relatively democratic throughout its history. He does not make the mistake of assuming that property qualifications excluded many adult men from the vote or that the demand for political democracy was important in determining voting practices. The main weakness of the work is the obvious one inherent in any attempt to integrate the history of the state and the history of voting within the compass of 228 pages.

ROBERT E. BROWN, *Michigan State College*

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ROCHESTER, 1843-1925. By *Stuart E. Rosenberg*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 325, \$4.50.) There were three "waves" of Jewish migration to this country: the Spanish-Portuguese, the German, and the East European. The Iberians had stopped coming by 1730; the Germans began coming in considerable numbers about the year 1840, pushed by disabilities in Europe and attracted by the opportunities in America. Moving westward along the Erie Canal in the stream of immigrants, some of the German Jewish newcomers halted to establish communities in Albany (1838), Syracuse (1839), and Rochester (1848). By the 1850's, Rochester Jews had created a synagogue-centered community with

philanthropic and associative institutions. They made their living as peddlers, merchants, and clothing manufacturers. The growth of the clothing industry of that city is interwoven with the history of the Jewish community. Within a generation those Germans became Americanized; even their religion, Reform Judaism, reflected their attempt to fashion a synthesis of Judaism and Americanism. During the 1870's, East European Jews, suffering from economic and political disabilities, began to drift into Rochester. Within a decade the trickle had turned into a stream, and the "Russians" soon became the largest Jewish group in the city. The newcomers brought with them a fervent loyalty to their ancestral faith, an intense love for Hebraic lore, and a most natural determination to cling to their age-old customs, rituals, and language (Yiddish). Many of them, proletarians, were socialistically inclined, and worked for the German Jewish manufacturers. Socially, economically, and religiously they were distinct from the German Jews. Thus by the turn of the century there were two Jewish communities in the city, a native one, and an immigrant one, mutually hostile to each other. But by 1925, after the children of the East Europeans had grown up, both groups began to move toward each other. The Immigration Act of 1924 had cut off further immigration; intra-marriages began to occur; common philanthropic tasks brought tolerance if not understanding; the spirit of secularization diminished religious acerbities; and the economic rise of the newer element made them more acceptable socially. A homogeneous American Jewish community was in process of "becoming." The importance of Rosenberg's book lies in the fact that in essence all nonmetropolitan Jewish communities have a similar history. Only the names, the details, vary; the typical historic processes of settlement, internal Jewish conflicts, economic development, secularization, and acculturation are true of all Jewish communities. The Jewish and the general historian who seeks to learn what is characteristic in American Jewish history would do well to read this book. It is brief, well-written, documented, and informative. JACOB R. MARCUS, *American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

BALTIMORE AS SEEN BY VISITORS, 1783-1860. By *Raphael Semmes*. [s in Maryland History, Number 2.] (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 19 xi, 208, \$4.00.) The late Dr. Semmes has given us a good example of what be done in historical pen-portraiture of a city by using travel literature. Thisive, modest volume, completed with bibliography and index by the staff of thland Historical Society, is a commendable work. Using Baltimore as the pivot rest, a hundred different visitors—foreign and American, famous and little l—are called on to give their impressions of it. Pertinent excerpts from their v are paraphrased or directly quoted and meshed with the compiler's own lairn a running, descriptive account in chronological order. This technique faciead-ing. The reader is likely to find the book interesting, especially after the pter. Little attempt is made to evaluate the comments of the travelers, but theas a check against each other. The result is that points of agreement are brot, as well as divergent views. Two notable matters of agreement were the dñess of the Barnum Hotel, for a long time the largest in America, and thv of

Baltimore's women. Since Baltimore in this period was a major American city and seaport, its character and history are of more than local importance. But the scope of this book is not narrowly confined to Baltimore. Interspersed are comments of the travelers about other areas, such as New England, New York City, Philadelphia, Washington, and Virginia, usually by way of comparison. One could get this information by reading the books of all these travelers—if they were accessible—but this brief book may serve as a time-saving historical reference on such general matters as transportation—railroads, stages, ships—slavery, commerce, prices, yellow fever, hospitals, agriculture, fruits, food and cooking, dress, drink, use or misuse of tobacco, music, drama, social customs and manners, as well as characterizations about some prominent citizens of the period. The book is good for both general reading and for historical reference. It is a credit to those who produced it.

CULVER H. SMITH, *University of Chattanooga*

THE OLD DOMINION AND NAPOLEON BONAPARTE: A STUDY IN AMERICAN OPINION. By *Joseph I. Shulim*, Brooklyn College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 572.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1952, . 332, \$4.50.) Studies of "public opinion" are among the easiest topics to pick for doctoral dissertation, and are among the easiest topics on which to assemble a respectable collection of research notes. Such studies, however, are among the most difficult to bring to any worth-while conclusion. Quite often the "opinion" revealed years of research turns out to be the merest banality—a collection of the most official clichés and stereotypes; furthermore even if a crystallized "public opinion" has been developed, the extremely difficult questions remain: what caused the "opinion" to take the pattern it did, and of what significance was this particular "opinion" in the realm of contemporary thought or action? Mr. Shulim's study of public opinion about Napoleon between the years 1797 and 1809 is a better than average example of historical opinion analysis. As a study, however, it does not easily escape the pitfalls of the genre. As a result of probably the most extensive research by any modern scholar among Virginia newspapers of the period, Mr. Shulim is able to show that there *was* a developing opinion on Bonaparte, and that "opinion" while substantially unanimous after 1803 in dislike of the "tyrant" Napoleon, was almost universally tainted, both before and after that date, with strong considerations of partisan American party politics. Apparently contemporary Virginia editorial estimates of the *meaning* of Napoleon's rise to power were governed in major degree by the struggle of the Federalists and Republicans to win or hold power in America; the evaluation of whether Napoleon's domestic program and foreign policy was harmful or advantageous to the United States was used, in almost every instance, by party men as a weapon to demonstrate that members of the opposition should not be trusted in office. Such being the case the reasons why Virginians aligned themselves with the Federalists, the Republicans, or the republicans seem to be the crucial factors in producing Virginia "opinions" on Bonaparte. Mr. Shulim does indeed devote an introductory chapter to this problem of party politics, but as analysis (based as it is on "standard" secondary works) it chiefly serves to remind us how superficial is our understanding of the beginnings of the two-party system in the Old Dominion. In like manner, the study fails to come to grips satisfactorily with the relation of public opinion to government policy. But this is perhaps a little bit at the author unfairly for not writing a book which he never intended to write. On the basis of what he has done Mr. Shulim can take pride in a study that will be the "definitive" account of what leading Virginians said about Napoleon's rise to power and glory between the years 1797 and 1809, as well as the conclu-

sions that these spokesmen wished their fellow-citizens to draw from their partisan evaluation of the French militarist. DOUGLASS ADAIR, *College of William and Mary*

MINE EYES HAVE SEEN THE GLORY: THE STORY OF A VIRGINIA LADY, MARY BERKELEY MINOR BLACKFORD, 1802-1896, WHO TAUGHT HER SONS TO HATE SLAVERY AND TO LOVE THE UNION. By L. Minor Blackford. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. xix, 293, \$5.00.) Dr. L. Minor Blackford, professor of medicine at Emory University, has woven together in this volume letters and journal entries of the remarkable Virginia family of William and Mary Berkeley Minor Blackford and their seven children, covering the years from the 1820's to 1866. The picture that emerges shows the Blackford family living at Fredericksburg until 1846 and after that at Lynchburg, where the father served as postmaster, newspaper editor, and banker. The central figure is Mary Blackford, a sensitive and deeply religious lady who in protest against the injustices of slavery in Virginia became an ardent champion of colonization as the most humane solution to the problem. Emancipating her own slaves and securing their transportation to Liberia, she persistently urged friends to do likewise. Perhaps the most unique letters in this book are those written to Mary from Liberia by ex-slaves James Cephas and Abram. The grim cruelty of slavery in separating families throbs through slave Betsy's agonizing account of the slave traders' selling of her children. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* so stirred Mrs. Blackford's emotions that she recommended it to her children, suggesting that it contained more truth than southerners were disposed to admit, and kept a copy under her bed all during the Civil War. The Blackfords viewed the coming of secession with horror, roundly condemning "wretched little South Carolina" as "an insolent and enfeebled reactionary, plunging the whole country into strife . . . of which others must bear the brunt." But when war came, the Blackfords' feeling that "My native land is Virginia" outweighed their strong attachment to the Union, and the five sons volunteered at once to defend Virginia. Although the material might have been more tightly woven together, historians will find this book especially useful for its new material on antislavery and Unionist sentiment in ante-bellum Virginia.

DAVID LINDSEY, *Baldwin-Wallace College*

SELECTED PAPERS OF CORNELIA PHILLIPS SPENCER. Edited with an Introduction by Louis R. Wilson. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, pp. vii, 753, \$7.50.) This collection of essays largely taken from Presbyterian periodicals supplements two biographies already published about a woman who helped lift North Carolina out of the doldrums of the post-bellum period. Mrs. Spencer had as much to do as anyone in starting the University of North Carolina on a career of usefulness as distinguished as that of any southern school in the twentieth century. The book continues to such length that it assumes the character of historical source material rather than that of selected essays. Mrs. Spencer and her editor do not always carry out her advice to provincial authors that they should give "plain but vivid sketches of something they themselves have seen and felt and known." In her book there are many extraneous musings and Sunday-school platitudes. Yet she reveals life in her section of the country as only a southern gentlewoman could. She confesses the prejudices of her class. She was Presbyterian, sectarian, genteel, and mildly puritanical. She was horrified at the suggestion of a Yankee that lady teachers should spend their vacations as waitresses, and she was hopelessly hesitant over whether or not nice girls should dance. Mrs. Spencer faced the poverty of the post-bellum period with the characteristic pride of a southern aristocrat. She described the lack of esthetic values in the South with the bluntness of a Frederick Law Olmsted. Her

interests belie the assertion of Fannie Kemble that the southern women at the top of the social hierarchy did not know the poor and the unfortunate. She gives many sympathetic portraits of degraded whites, and she shows, as only a southern lady who knew slavery could, a tender regard for dying Negroes. Anyone who wants to know how a perceptive southern woman felt in the generation after Appomattox can do so from reading this collection from the files of forgotten journals. If the editor had been more selective we perhaps would have a revelation as impressive as Mary Boykin Chesnut's *A Diary from Dixie*.

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS, *Longwood College*

FLORIDA FIASCO: RAMPANT REBELS ON THE GEORGIA-FLORIDA BORDER, 1810-1815. By *Rembert W. Patrick*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1954, pp. x, 359, \$5.00.) Many historians have written of early nineteenth-century events in East Florida, as the diplomats then treated of it, without seeing the ground or understanding fully the people and their interests. Professor Patrick has brought us the reality of the local scene and has deftly woven it into the broad picture of the motives and events of the War of 1812. It is a tale of frustration and tragedy. The central figure is General George Mathews, an old war horse attempting to return to action who died in righteous anger at the vacillations and vagaries of the administration at Washington. The book is particularly good for its analysis of the reasoning of the "patriots" who felt betrayed after having been given clandestine encouragement to invest their all, literally, in an effort to maneuver East Florida into the hands of the United States. Mathews, John H. McIntosh, Colonel Thomas A. Smith, and other names that have been footnotes in many books here become real people. From this point of view the portrayal of Madison and Monroe is necessarily a harsh one. Their dilemma between expansionist desires and the need to uphold the diplomatic rights of small nations led them to the borderline of chicanery. It is fortunate for our historical tradition that the overzealous hope of welcoming rebellion in East Florida failed, and that we eventually obtained the territory by fair negotiation. Furthermore, in the Adams-Onís treaty of 1819 the United States gained far more than could have been salvaged from the wreckage of 1812. It may be argued that Luís de Onís, unrecognized Spanish minister, did not completely take "the dangling bait" offered by Monroe for a cession of the Floridas in 1812. To be sure, Onís was in a peculiarly weak position and welcomed an opening for negotiation, but he never could have agreed to terms that would have been offered at that time. Many tangled threads are here woven together. The chronology is at times confusing to the reader, as it must have been to the writer. Like Colonel Smith, whom he quotes, he must have felt in the situation "excessive perplexity and vexations." The biographical information given on new actors entering the narrative is effective and helps one to understand the composition of this weirdly mixed temporary population. Professor Patrick's book is notable for the breadth of his research in a wide variety of sources of information. His citations from the National Archives bely the belief of some that official documents are colorless and uninteresting. To fill out the framework he has used local and some foreign official records, private manuscripts in many centers, the press, previous historical monographs, and physical survivals. The only flaw is the lack of a map in a work which depends heavily upon place names, routes of expeditions, and the relationships of various positions.

PHILIP C. BROOKS, *San Francisco, California*

A CENTURY OF GEORGIA AGRICULTURE, 1850-1950. By *Willard Range*. Foreword by George H. King. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1954, pp. xii, 333, \$5.00.) This volume treats the agricultural history of only one state, but it deals

with such a variety of developments common to a number of southeastern states that it is valuable for showing much of what has happened in southern agriculture since the Civil War. In Part One, "The End of the Golden Age, 1850-1865," Range paints the picture in broad strokes, for the most part too broad to give more than a general impression of the agricultural situation in the 1850's and the destruction of the plantation-slave system during the war. In Part Two, "The Long Depression, 1865-1900," however, the author deals impressively with the reorganization of labor and management in the difficult post-Civil War era, the largely unsuccessful attempts at diversification in the late nineteenth century, the application of science to farming, and the agrarian revolt. Here, Range contends that the landowners found the wage labor system superior to sharecropping, but that the Negro's insistence on the latter was responsible for its widespread adoption. Unfortunately, the author fails to offer convincing proof of this interesting thesis. It would seem that the shortage of liquid funds, the landowners' failure to pay adequate wages and their reluctance to assume the necessary supervision of wage laborers were important factors in the adoption of the share system. Part Three chronicles the revolutionary changes in Georgia agriculture in the twentieth century—the decline of cotton, the achievement of a diversified agriculture, improvements in marketing and credit facilities, and the increasing importance of agricultural education. Based upon wide research, *A Century of Georgia Agriculture* is authoritative and points the way to what might be profitably done with the history of agriculture in other states. This reviewer wishes that along with his excellent synthesis and narration Professor Range had chosen to analyze more fully costs, prices, and profits in various crops and on different sized farms. Not the least valuable quality of this book is the author's happy faculty of making agricultural history interesting. J. CARLYLE SITTERSON, *University of North Carolina*

GALVESTON ISLAND, OR, A FEW MONTHS OFF THE COAST OF TEXAS: THE JOURNAL OF FRANCIS C. SHERIDAN, 1839-1840. Edited by *Willis W. Pratt*. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1954, pp. xvii, 172, \$3.50.) This is the journal of a young Irishman in the British service who visited the coastal area of Texas in 1840, when his government was considering the matter of recognizing the Republic of Texas. His report to his government may be found in E. D. Adams, ed., *British Diplomatic Correspondence concerning the Republic of Texas, 1838-1846* (Austin, 1917). More interesting than the official report is this private journal recounting Sheridan's experiences in Texas, now excellently edited by Professor Pratt and made available by the University of Texas Press. Apparently young Sheridan aspired to be an actor and a writer, and his observations of social functions and private and public entertainment have special value. He did not see in Texas many things that he liked and more people disgusted him than pleased him. Still he agreed with Texans that their country offered wonderful opportunities to the immigrant and was the most healthful place on earth. He thought, furthermore, that if the British government would recognize Texas the resulting increase of immigration of British subjects to that country would greatly improve the Texan population!

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON, *Hardin-Simmons University*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

DOUGLASS HOUGHTON: MICHIGAN'S PIONEER GEOLOGIST. By *Edsel K. Rintala*. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1954, pp. vi, 119, \$3.00.) Douglass Houghton was endowed with an insignificant physique and a remarkable mind. In his tragically shortened career of thirty-six years (1809-45) he made an impressive contribution to the material and the cultural progress of Michigan, his adopted state. Although he was never a forgotten man, until now no extended biography of him has been published. A native of Troy, New York, and a graduate of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, by the age of twenty-one he had become both a physician and a scientist. Invited to Detroit to deliver a series of scientific lectures in 1831, he quickly became one of the best-known and best-loved citizens of that burgeoning metropolis. His wider claim upon public remembrance stems from his work as surveyor of the geological resources of Michigan. Shortly before his death he persuaded Congress to authorize a combined geological, mineralogical, topographical, and magnetic survey of the wild lands of the United States to be conducted in conjunction with the linear survey of the public domain. Field work on this immense undertaking had already been launched when death by drowning in Lake Superior stayed the brain and hand of the eager scholar. It is well to have the story of such a career and character conveniently assembled within a single volume. Although Rintala's narrative is in no sense distinguished, it presents in scholarly fashion about all one needs to know about Detroit's loved "little doctor" and "boy geologist." It is gratifying that the book has the imprint of the infant press of Detroit's still-youthful Wayne University.

M. M. QUAlFE, *Detroit, Michigan*

NOTHING BUT PRAIRIE AND SKY: LIFE ON THE DAKOTA RANGE IN THE EARLY DAYS. Recorded by *Walker D. Wyman* from the original notes of *Bruce Siberts*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. 217, \$3.75.) "Look, Mama, at the picture of Jesus stealing a little bunch of sheep!" The child pointed a chubby hand at a Sunday School chromo on the cabin wall. This juvenile reaction represents a typical point of view that has never been adequately explained by writers

on the West. Why did vast numbers of pioneer Americans who deplored stealing participate in it at one time or another, at least to the extent of eating the other fellow's beef? This amoral phenomenon is excellently postulated by Walker Wyman in *Nothing but Prairie and Sky*. The book is a partial autobiography of Bruce Siberts, written in his own alkali idiom, then boiled down and unified by Mr. Wyman. The process has extracted all the essence of a small livestockman's life on the open range of South Dakota at the turn of the century. The time and the place are generally conceded to have been the most picturesque and compellingly romantic in American history. The sailor, the riverman, the timber cruiser have never held popular imagination like the cowboy. Owen Wister set the accepted pattern of the cattle country. Andy Adams recorded the scene through the professional eyes of a clear-eyed Texas cattleman. Marie Sandoz and Ole Rølvaag added the European immigrant's interpretation. *Nothing but Prairie and Sky* fills another prominent gap. Here is the West as seen by an unlettered farm boy—one of the class which was probably the most numerous in settling the open range. The book must be judged as a literary work, not as history—except in the broadest sense. Siberts' facts are meager and sometimes inaccurate. When he tells about discussing a range problem with "old Clay Robinson," he is inflating his own importance about a conference that could not have occurred, for Clay and Robinson were two men. Such an error, however, fails to vitiate the charm of a self-revealing interpretation of a man and his times, told with candor, zest, and rare humor.

JAY MONAGHAN, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

THE OPENING OF THE CALIFORNIA TRAIL: THE STORY OF THE STEVENS PARTY FROM THE REMINISCENCES OF MOSES SCHALLENGER AS SET DOWN FOR H. H. BANCROFT ABOUT 1885, EDITED AND EXPANDED BY HORACE S. FOOTE IN 1888. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Map, and Illustrations by *George R. Stewart*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. viii, 115, \$3.75.) The overland emigrant party of 1844, in opening the first wagon-road to California, made a truly historic trek. But unfortunately no diary has come down to give us a day-by-day record of the journey. In the absence of such a contemporary record, the reminiscent account of Moses Schallenger is the more prized. His original manuscript, "Overland in 1844," has been lost, but the substance of it has been preserved, though buried in *Pen Pictures* (1888), a volume of local history and biography. Mr. Stewart has performed a service in ferreting out this account, recognizing its importance, and making it available. As a student of the famous Donner Party of 1846, he was equipped to edit this narrative, and to make logical deductions from the brief record. Schallenger, a lad of seventeen when he joined the party led by Elisha Stevens, not only endured the hardships of the overland journey but remained alone with the snowbound wagons in the Sierra Nevadas to guard "an invoice of valuable goods." His food was foxes he trapped through the winter. A good introduction and explanatory notes are supplied by the editor. Appropriate illustrations are included.

LEROY R. HAFEN, *State Historical Society of Colorado*

COLLIS POTTER HUNTINGTON. By *Cerinda W. Evans*. In two volumes. [Museum Publication Number 24.] (Newport News, Va., Mariners' Museum, 1954, pp. 384, 385-775.) This is the type of book which tempts a reviewer to rip up one side and snort down the other in devilish devastation, for it asks for such treatment throughout. The two volumes are beautifully fashioned, with excellent illustrations, although more lucid maps could be desired and there is that eternal nuisance of having to break pace to check footnotes three hundred pages to the rear. Undoubtedly the

author has consulted just about all the material pertaining to Huntington that is worth the effort. But for all the effort and expense, the book remains a disappointment. It reads like a Ph.D. thesis before the supervisor has gone over it, and is about as badly proofed. To detail all the errors would require more space than is allotted here. There are, to cite examples, typographical errors (pp. 43, 702, etc.) awkward sentences (pp. 53, 527), misspellings (p. 471), and changes from plural to singular or vice versa between nouns and their pronouns (pp. 134, 186). Then there are small errors of fact, which could, of course, be typographical, such as founding the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1877 (p. 300) and listing the San Antonio and Aransas Pass railroad as the San Antonio and Arkansas Pass (p. 264). However, the greater disappointment is the failure of the author to sell his case for Huntington. While the reviewer rather sympathizes with those who seek to revise estimates of nineteenth-century American businessmen, he feels that proper revision requires more than endless reiteration that the hero didn't kick his dog—or his partner—across the room every morning before coffee. Undoubtedly a case can be made for the Central Pacific in general and Huntington in particular. Throughout the building of the transcontinental road, and even after, San Francisco behaved like a spurned suitor; and her newspapers achieved national reputation for viciousness in an era that isn't remembered for its journalistic temperance. Every California politician who couldn't get in the Huntington orbit knew that political capital could always be made by attacking the then biggest target in the state. So there was room for a new look at the Huntington saga, but this, I fear, is not the book to balance the account, for it induces a counter-reaction. One paragraph (p. 493), among others, gives an idea why: "Is it not time to reconsider [Huntington] seriously and honestly, not only as the greatest of railroad builders and a financial genius, but as a man of boundless vision, indomitable courage and force, and unswerving integrity; and to reckon up his unparalleled contributions to the welfare of mankind?" Yes, it's time—it is still time.

JOE B. FRANTZ, *University of Texas*

BIOGRAPHY OF A BANK: THE STORY OF BANK OF AMERICA N. T. AND S. A. By *Marquis James* and *Bessie Rowland James*. (New York, Harper, 1954, pp. vii, 566, \$5.00.) This is the story of the world's largest bank and the biography of its founder, Amedeo Peter Giannini, one of the great innovators in modern banking. The son of Italian immigrants, Giannini began his career in his step-father's produce business in San Francisco. After twelve years, at the age of thirty-one, he retired, having saved enough money to guarantee him a monthly income of \$250. Then, for a brief time, he operated in real estate and served as a director of a local bank. In 1904, he founded his own institution, the Bank of Italy. Confident of the future and convinced that what California needed was a bank large enough to handle the requirements of a varied and expanding economy, and one equally willing to cater to the needs of "the little fellow," Giannini embarked upon a program designed to make the Bank of Italy (in 1930, changed to Bank of America) a state-wide branch banking system. The struggle to combat popular and official prejudice against branch banking, the methods of expansion through the use of corporate affiliates and holding companies (Bancitaly, 1919, and the most notable, Transamerica, 1928), and the conflicts with government officials are carefully and interestingly analyzed. In the 1920's, while the Bank of Italy increased its holdings in California, Giannini, through Bancitaly, tried to create a national, indeed, a world-wide branch banking institution. Some of this expansion, as the Jameses indicate, was not always wise or carefully executed. Ultimately, the depression and conflict with eastern banking interests prevented the realization of this dream. After a dramatic proxy fight to regain con-

trol of his vast holdings, Giannini, in 1932, assumed once again the leadership which he had relinquished in 1924 and began to rebuild what the depression and (according to Giannini and the authors) unfriendly interests in Washington, D.C., and New York tried to destroy. In the end he succeeded. A. P. Giannini died in 1949 leaving an estate of less than \$500,000, while the bank he founded and whose destiny he guided for over forty years represented "the largest [private] aggregation of wealth ever assembled under one banking management." Employing bank records and other standard sources, the Jameses have written an accurate and interesting history of an important regional banking system and its complex role in the economic development of twentieth-century California. There is not a dull page in the whole book, and, so far as this reviewer can tell, the treatment of Giannini's struggle with Wall Street is the only instance where the author's views might be questioned.

VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *New York University*

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Latin-American History

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GENERAL

- HISTORIOGRAPHIE D'HAÏTI. By *Catts Pressoir, Ernst Trouillot, Henock Trouillot*. [Historiografías, I.] (Mexico, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia,

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

Comisión de Historia, 1953, pp. 298.) The Fourth Assembly of the Pan American Institute of History and Geography which met in Caracas in 1946 recommended "... the publication of a 'library of American historiography' which would ... serve as a guide ... to the most notable works which exist concerning the history of each American nation." *Historiographie d'Haïti* is the first volume of a series being published in conformity with this recommendation by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute. In choosing the most notable works concerning the history of Haiti, the authors have confined themselves to some ninety-odd "historians who are well known and whose works have had an influence upon public opinion." Included are writers of primary materials, such as travel accounts, as well as those who have written history in a more technical sense. Their works are divided into three main categories: those which deal with the Spanish period; those dealing with the French period; and those which are concerned with independent Haiti. The last two groups are further subdivided according to topical or methodological characteristics. Within the various divisions and subdivisions discussions of individual works are presented in chronological order of their publication. These discussions range from a few descriptive lines to rather extensive critical analyses dealing with the life and times, the methods and ideas of more important Haitian writers such as Thomas Madiou, Beau-brun Ardouin, and Horace Pauleus Sannon. *Historiographie d'Haïti* contains a number of mechanical imperfections and inconsistencies in the presentation of bibliographical information, and its organization leaves something to be desired. However, its authors should be commended for bringing together in one volume much useful information on historical writing about Haiti and for giving us a valuable insight into the problems which have concerned and should concern the historians of Haiti.

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COLONIAL PERIOD

FRANCISCAN BEGINNINGS IN COLONIAL PERU. By *Antonine Tibesar*, O.F.M. [Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Monograph Series, Volume One.] (Washington, the Academy, 1953, pp. xviii, 162, \$4.00.) In this scholarly and highly documented account of Franciscan activities in sixteenth-century Peru, the author has explored a neglected phase in the history of the Catholic Church in the Western Hemisphere. The study, which was begun as a doctoral dissertation, is based on extensive research in Peruvian archives as well as other archival and library materials. The copious footnotes and the appendix contain a great deal of information not found in the rather short text. There is also a lengthy bibliography, although no commentary on materials listed. As the author states in his introduction, this work does not attempt to be a "total history" of sixteenth-century Franciscans in Peru but rather a sketch of Franciscan efforts during that period to convert the Indians to Christianity. The first part of the book deals with the arrival of the Franciscans in Peru and the slow but steady growth of this order among the Creoles. (A few mestizos, but no Negroes were admitted.) There follows a brief treatment of the difficulties encountered in early labors among the Indians. "The slowness of the development was due largely to two causes: the hesitancy of the Franciscan superiors to accept parishes as a permanent obligation, and the reluctance of the bishops . . . to entrust these parishes to the religious [orders]" (p. 47). The second half of the text discusses the Franciscans in the latter part of the century, especially after the arrival of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1568. Ignoring the wishes of the archbishop and the Franciscan superiors, he assigned friars permanently to designated posts. A final chapter is a brief description of the methods used in teaching the Indians. The author concludes that "the Franciscans in sixteenth-century Peru were not surpassed by any group in the effectiveness of their ministry or in fidelity to their mission."

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held December 28-30 at the Hotel Commodore, New York.

A number of copies of the *Writings on American History, 1949* (*Annual Report, 1951*, Vol. II) and of the *Annual Report* of the Association for 1952, Vol. I, *Proceedings*, are still available to members who write and ask for them.

Other Historical Activities

General Peyton Conway March has presented to the Library of Congress the first installment of his papers, consisting mainly of correspondence in the 1930's. The main body of General March's papers will eventually come to the Library. They will form a valuable supplement to the papers of Woodrow Wilson, Newton D. Baker, John J. Pershing, Tasker H. Bliss, and others.

A small but valuable addition to the papers of Philander C. Knox has been received as a gift from his daughter. The correspondence (*ca.* 70 pieces, 1896-1921) includes one or more letters each from four Presidents—McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Harding—as well as scattered letters from Mark Hanna, Whitelaw Reid, Elihu Root, Charles J. Bonaparte, Frank B. Kellogg, and others.

Nine volumes of the diary of George von Lengerke Meyer have been presented to the Library by his daughters. The diary covers Meyer's years as ambassador to Italy, 1901-1905, and to Russia, 1905-1907, as well as his later service as Postmaster General in Theodore Roosevelt's cabinet and his first few months as Secretary of the Navy in the Taft administration.

Among earlier materials acquired recently are approximately 1500 business papers of George Redington (1798-1850) and of his son and executor, James, of Waddington, New York. The elder Redington, who studied law in the office of Gouverneur Ogden, gradually relinquished his law practice in favor of handling real estate. He acted as land agent for several influential proprietors in the Waddington-Ogdensburg area, ran several lumber mills, and took an active part in the arrangements for construction of the Northern Railroad line from Ogdensburg to Rouse's Point. Most of the papers are comprised of correspondence dating from about 1820 to 1860.

A number of collections, large and small, dealing with the history of aviation from the time of the French Revolution to the present are now available in the Manuscripts Division following transfer from the Library's former Aeronautics Division. Among the collections are those of Gaston Tissandier, celebrated nineteenth-century balloonist; Alfred Hildebrand, German writer on aeronautical subjects, pioneer in aviation, and the first European to support the experiments of the

Wright Brothers; and Octave Chanute, Franco-American civil engineer who became interested in aeronautics as early as 1875 in France and was friend and mentor to the Wrights. The papers of Orville and Wilbur Wright have now been returned to the Manuscripts Division.

Registers descriptive of the following groups of personal papers or collections of records are now available for interlibrary loan: American Public Relations Association; Ray Stannard Baker, Series I; Marion Glass Banister; Rev. James D. Barbee; George F. Becker; Sir Francis J. Campbell; Thomas Čapek; Thomas Henry Carter; Charles J. Dewey; John P. Frey; Edmond C. Genet; Leland Harrison; John Hay; Raoul Heilbrunner; Interparliamentary Union; Thomas A. Jenckes; Thomas S. Jesup; James Laurence Laughlin; League of Women Voters; Charles L. McNary; John Purroy Mitchel; Roland S. Morris; Naval Historical Foundation; Burton E. Stevenson; Harvey W. Wiley; and George M. Wunderlich.

The National Archives has recently issued "Special Lists," No. 12, *Select List of Documents in the Records of the National Recovery Administration*, compiled by Homer C. Calkin and Meyer H. Fishbein, and five more "Preliminary Inventories": No. 66, *Records of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering*, compiled by Harold T. Pinkett; No. 67, *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives to Investigate Air Accidents, 1941-43*, compiled by George P. Perros; No. 68, *Cartographic Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace*, compiled by James Berton Rhoads; No. 69, *Records of the House Committee on the Civil Service Pertaining to the Investigation of Civilian Employment in the Federal Government, 1942-46*, compiled by George P. Perros; No. 70, *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives on Post-War Military Policy, 1944-46*, compiled by George P. Perros.

The Syracuse University Library has recently received two manuscript collections of interest to American historians. O. T. Barck, professor of history at Syracuse, has given the library an extensive collection of the papers of Moses DeWitt, 1766-1794. About five hundred items relating to the life of Mary Edwards Walker, 1832-1919, of Oswego, New York, physician and women's rights advocate, have been received from Mrs. Eric W. Lawson of Canastota, New York.

The Detroit Institute of Arts has established the Archives of American Art for the collection in one central place of documentary material on American painters, sculptors, and craftsmen. The Archives will consist of original records or reproductions of records preserved permanently in other collections.

The sponsors of the recently organized project to edit the papers of Benjamin Franklin (see *AHR*, April, 1954, p. 822) have issued an appeal to libraries, collectors, and other individuals possessing any letters by or to Benjamin Franklin or other Franklin manuscripts. Such owners are invited to co-operate with this undertaking by informing the editor, Professor Leonard W. Labaree, of their holdings

and making them available for photographic reproduction and ultimate inclusion in the edition. Communications regarding Franklin manuscripts should be addressed to Professor Labaree at Yale University Library, Room 230, New Haven, Connecticut. He will arrange for the photographing of all such materials and full acknowledgments of ownership will be made as the materials are printed.

The library of the late Frederick Winslow Taylor, together with his personal papers and other memorabilia, has been given to Stevens Institute of Technology. A *Classified Guide* to the collection has been published by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and is available from the ASME Order Department, 29 West 39th Street, New York 18, N.Y. (\$3.00).

Since 1859 the Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts, has published a quarterly called the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*. This quarterly contains much material on the colonial history of Massachusetts and the commercial history of Salem and Essex County during the days of the sailing ships, as well as many genealogies, town records, and other original source material. In 1951 the Institute published a complete index of Volumes 68 to 85, an edition now almost exhausted. An index of the earlier volumes is now in progress, that for the first twenty-five volumes being ready for distribution. Two more volumes will bring the index up to Volume 68 and complete the task.

The *Church of Christ Preachers List* has been microfilmed by Texas Christian University. This work contains historical and statistical material relative to the Churches of Christ and the Disciples of Christ since 1906. Microfilm copies are available for \$46.50 from Mr. A. T. DeGroot, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas.

A series of radio scripts entitled "The American Story" has been prepared by Broadcast Music, Inc., in association with the Society of American Historians. Each episode features a "radio essay" written by a historian expert in the particular period or subject. The series is being made available without cost to every radio station in the country and to schools and libraries for educational purposes.

The Société d'histoire moderne has begun publication again of their *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, suspended since 1939. The *Bulletin* of the society, which provides a short summary of the papers and discussion at the monthly meetings, will continue to appear, but the *Etudes*, a volume of longer monographs of which five numbers have appeared since the Second World War, will not be published. Unlike the *Etudes*, the *Revue* will publish reviews of books and will appear quarterly. Subscription to the *Bulletin* is \$2.00 for Americans at the current French exchange, and to the *Revue*, 1,200 francs, or approximately \$3.50. M. Lucien Gênet, 22 Avenue de la Bourdonnais, Paris VII, receives applications for the *Bulletin*, while the Presses Universitaires de France takes care of subscriptions for the new *Revue*. Stechert-Hafner, of New York, will also take

subscriptions. The introduction to this first number of the *Revue* comments on other French historical reviews and the need for a review devoted to modern history. Professor Charles H. Pouthas is director, Professor Roger Portal, secretary-general, and René Rémond, secretary for editing of the review.

The first issue of *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* has appeared under the date of January, 1954. It is to be published three times a year by the International Association for the History of Religions and will present articles in English, French, German, and Italian. The editor is Professor Raffaele Pettazoni, Via Crescenzo 63, Rome, and the distributor is E. J. Brill, Leiden.

The Committee on International Relations of the American Historical Association met in Washington, D.C., May 8, 1954, under the chairmanship of Waldo Leland, to discuss international relations touching upon the study of history, particularly the Rome meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, September 4-11, 1955, and Hispanic-American historical activities. The committee discussed the projected program at length with the American Historical Association's delegate, Professor Donald McKay, who attended the meeting of the Bureau at Lausanne in June. Professor McKay's report of the Lausanne meeting is summarized below.

The principal business of this year's meeting of the Bureau of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences at Lausanne, Switzerland, June 11-12, was the further preparation of the quinquennial Congress in Rome, September 4-11, 1955. The Congress will open with a plenary session on Sunday morning, September 4, and will continue during the following six days with sessions from 9 to 11 A.M. for the discussion of reports on subjects of broad historical interest (printed and distributed in advance), and with sessions from 11:15 to 12:45 and from 5:30 to 8 devoted to the reading and discussion of papers of the more conventional type. There will also be two plenary evening meetings and one weekday afternoon free. On Sunday, September 11, the Congress will be closed in a final plenary session in the morning at which four leading historians (Momigliano, Vercauteren, Ritter, Renouvin) will comment briefly on the extent to which their printed reports (on the fields of antiquity, the Middle Ages, modern history, and contemporary history) have received support or have been modified by the papers and discussion of the past week.

American scholars will prepare or participate in the preparation of ten of the thirty-five reports, and will present some twenty papers. The latter were chosen from a list which had been screened in a meeting on May 8 of the American Committee on International Historical Activities.

The Congress will be housed in the very spacious Palazzo dei Congressi, originally planned in connection with the projected International Exposition of 1942. It lies in a large complex of buildings and gardens in the countryside southwest of Rome but is accessible in about fifteen minutes from the Piazza Venezia. It

includes a large auditorium with 1500 seats and provision for simultaneous translation in the five official languages of the Congress (French, German, Italian, Spanish, English). It has also on the first floor a spacious room for banquets, international telephone and telegraph service, a bank, a post office, tourist agencies, a commodious bar, a room for the press, etc. On the second floor are offices for Congress officials, rooms of varying sizes to accommodate speakers in the five "sections" of the Congress, and some fourteen smaller rooms for potential discussions following the formal sessions. There is a superb outdoor theater and a good restaurant nearby. Bus service will be provided from the three sectors in Rome in which hotels are being listed for the convenience of participants. Formal invitations with full information concerning hotels, etc., will be distributed presently by the office of the American Historical Association to a fairly wide range of people who might be presumed to be interested, and further invitations will be available at the Association office on application after about October 1.

The Italian Committee has arranged a series of three interesting optional excursions to follow immediately after the Congress—(1) to Naples, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Amalfi, Paestum; (2) to Assisi, Perugia, Siena, San Gimignano, Lucca, Florence; (3) to Venice and its environs.

The Holy See has become a member of the International Committee and will have a very substantial representation among those offering papers at the Congress.

Further information can be had from the American representative on the Bureau, Professor Donald C. McKay, 472 Widener Library, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, or from the Segreteria del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici, Via M. Caetani 32, Rome. Information on the activities of the International Committee during the past year, along with its Constitution, officers, etc., can be found in the *Bulletin d'information*, 1954, of which the Association office has a limited number of copies available for distribution.

An international conference called "II Jornadas de Literatura Hispánica" was held at Santiago de Compostela, Spain, July 16-23, under the auspices of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica. The first such conference was held last year at the University of Salamanca. The theme of the 1954 conference was the history of Hispanic literature in the past half century.

The Eighth International Congress for the History of Religions will be held in Rome April 17-23, 1955. All scholars interested in the historical study of religions are invited to attend. The address of the Italian committee in charge of the Congress is Via Michelangelo Caetani 32, Rome, Italy.

The twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Corporation of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, Canada, on April 10, 1954. The president of the Academy, Professor William E. Lunt of Haverford College, delivered an address, "Aspects of the

Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327-1523." Other papers read at the meeting were "The State of Mediaeval Studies in Egypt" by Dr. Hassan Ibrahim Hassan, "The Historical State of Research on Siger of Brabant" by Dr. Armand A. Maurer, and "The Pseudo-Isidorian Problem Today" by Dr. Schafer Williams. Professor Austin P. Evans of Columbia University was elected president of the Academy.

At the meeting of the Conference on British Studies held at New York University on April 3, 1954, Sir George N. Clark, provost of Oriel College, Oxford University, read a paper entitled "The Place of King William's War in the Social and Economic History of Europe." Professors Violet Barbour, formerly of Vassar College, and Basil D. Henning, of Yale University, were the commentators.

The California Conference of Historical Societies was organized in July by 106 representatives of more than 30 county or regional historical organizations throughout the state. Rockwell D. Hunt was elected first president of the new organization. The conference will have its first annual convention at Monterey, June 24-25, 1955.

Occidental College's fifth annual conference on the American Southwest and Mexico, sponsored in co-operation with the Rockefeller Foundation, was held on April 9 and 10, 1954, at Los Angeles, California. Historians, folklorists, literary specialists, artists, and musicologists participated in the sessions, some of which were held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the California Folklore Society. One panel of basic historical interest concerning "The Northwestern States of Mexico" included Philip W. Powell of Santa Barbara College, University of California, Eugene K. Chamberlin of Montana State University, and Andrew F. Rolle of Occidental College. A major address entitled "The Birth and Progress of Mexican Liberalism" was delivered by Edmundo O'Gorman of the University of Mexico. Dean Glenn S. Dumke of Occidental College was the general chairman of the conference.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the Berkshire Historical Conference was held May 21-23 at Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Fifteen women teaching in the field of history and representing seven colleges attended. Recent publications and current research projects of members present were described and discussed. Miss Mildred Campbell of Vassar College continues her term as president. Miss Jane Ruby of Wheaton College was elected secretary-treasurer.

The spring Upper Midwest History Conference was held on the campus of Wisconsin State College at River Falls on May 11, 1954. A paper entitled "Popular Anticlericalism in the Puritan Revolution" was read by Professor James F. Maclear of the University of Minnesota, Duluth Branch. Discussion was led by Professors Lucile D. Pinkham of Carleton College and David H. Willson of the

University of Minnesota. Professor Robert P. Fogerty of the College of St. Thomas presided.

The Rockefeller Foundation has made a four-year grant to the American University for preparation of a history of Washington, D.C. The university has engaged Mrs. Constance McLaughlin Green to undertake this task. The purpose of the study is twofold: to analyze the development of American urban life in a fashion to serve as a "pilot model" for histories of other cities and to explain the origin and growth of features peculiar to Washington. No complete history of the national capital exists today, and while obviously no history can incorporate discussion of everything of interest, Mrs. Green hopes to cover the essential elements of Washington's past in a volume of less than 500 pages. Because the gaps in historical understanding are more pronounced for the period since the Civil War than for the earlier years, plans at present are to give major emphasis to the changes that occurred between 1865 and 1950.

A gift of \$750,000 for American Studies at the University of Wyoming was recently made by Mr. William Robertson Coe of New York. The funds will be used to endow an expanded interdepartmental program at the levels of the bachelor's and master's degrees. Beginning in September, 1954, graduate fellowships of \$1,000 to \$2,000 will be offered, as well as undergraduate fellowships of \$250. In addition, the endowment provides for substantial library acquisitions, establishment of a chair, and continuation of the annual Conference on American Studies, a five-week summer program for fifty selected high school teachers of history and literature. The conference will continue to be under the direction of William R. Steckel, professor of history at the university.

The following historians are among the recipients of grants under the faculty fellowship program of the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford Foundation) for 1954-55: Edwin Charles Rozwenc, Amherst College; Richard Blaine McCornack, Dartmouth College; Ernest W. McDonnell, Rutgers University; Joseph A. Boromé, City College, New York; Ralph Henry Bowen, Columbia University; Matthew Heath Elbow, New York State College for Teachers, Albany; Jack H. Hexter, Queens College; Aaron Noland, City College, New York; John MacDonald Coleman, Lafayette College; William Hardy McNeill, University of Chicago; Stow S. Persons, State University of Iowa; Oswald P. Backus, III, University of Kansas; Alvin H. Proctor, Kansas State Teachers College; Arthur E. Adams, Michigan State College; Cyril G. Allen, State Teachers College, Mankato, Minnesota; David Henry Pinkney, University of Missouri; Irvin G. Wyllie, University of Missouri; Bernarr Cresap, State Teachers College, Florence, Alabama; William Arnold Bultman, Arkansas State Teachers College; Harold O. Lewis, Howard University; John Thomas Farrell, Catholic University of America; Rembert W. Patrick, University of Florida; James H. Young, Emory University, James Franklin Hopkins, University of Kentucky; Helen Grey Edmonds, North

Carolina College at Durham; Arthur Bowles Ferguson, Duke University; Frontis Withers Johnston, Davidson College; Frank W. Klingberg, University of North Carolina; Gilbert Courtland Fite, University of Oklahoma; Howard H. Quint, University of South Carolina; Barnes Fletcher Lathrop, University of Texas; William Alexander Jenks, Washington and Lee University; Marvin Wilson Schlegel, Longwood College; Louis Cushman De Armond, Los Angeles State College; Robert G. Athearn, University of Colorado; Edwin Ralph Bingham, University of Oregon; Donald W. Treadgold, University of Washington.

In 1955 the Social Science Research Council will again offer research training fellowships, both predoctoral and postdoctoral; faculty research fellowships, providing half-time support for research for three-year terms and open to college teachers up to thirty-five years of age; grants-in-aid of research to scholars of established competence; and undergraduate research stipends, open to college juniors. In addition the Council will offer certain other types of assistance for study and research, including grants to support research on United States military policies covering any period between 1750 and 1939 except the Civil War period (application for these special grants must be made before November 1, 1954). Inquiries about grants should be made as soon as possible and should be directed to the Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Scholarships for study in Mexico during 1955 are again being offered by the Mexican government. Open to graduate and undergraduate students with a knowledge of Spanish, the awards are given through the Mexico-United States Commission on Cultural Cooperation. Awards are for the academic year beginning March 1, 1955. Applicants may write to the Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, New York, N. Y. Closing date for application is November 1, 1954.

Competition for the annual book prize of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg is now open for books published since January 1, 1954, in the field of early American history and culture. This field embraces all phases of American history to about 1815, including the borderlands of the British North American colonies and the British colonies in the West Indies to 1776. The prize is \$500, and all types of work except fiction are eligible. The next award will be made in May, 1955. Books should be submitted to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia, not later than January 15, 1955.

The American Committee for Cultural Freedom and Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., publishers, announce the Cultural Freedom Award of \$1,000 to be given for a book-length manuscript on the subject of cultural freedom. The contest is open to teachers or graduate students in American colleges and universities. The dead-

line for submission is May 31, 1955. Inquiries for further information may be addressed to Cultural Freedom Editor, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 105 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

In Amherst College Wallace P. Scott has been promoted to assistant professor of history and Walter A. Sedelow has been appointed instructor in history.

Dale L. Morgan has joined the staff of the Bancroft Library and will prepare a general guide to its manuscript collections.

Felix E. Hirsch, professor of history in Bard College, will teach twentieth-century history at the Technische Hochschule, Karlsruhe (Germany) during the winter semester, 1954-55.

After thirty-nine years in the department of history at Bowdoin College, Thomas Curtis Van Cleve, Thomas Brackett Reed professor of history and political science, retired on June 30 with the rank of professor emeritus. George Bearce, formerly of Kalamazoo College, has been appointed assistant professor of history at Bowdoin.

T. H. Von Laue of Bryn Mawr College has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship to Finland.

Julius W. Pratt, Samuel P. Capen professor of American history in the University of Buffalo, was one of three professors named to the recently established rank of distinguished professor in the university.

Ronald E. Osborn has been promoted to professor of church history in the school of religion of Butler University. He has been granted a leave of absence for the current year to serve on the staff of the Graduate School of Ecumenical Studies at the Ecumenical Institute, maintained by the World Council of Churches at Chateau de Bossey, Céligny, Switzerland.

Edward M. Riley, formerly chief park historian at Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, has been named director of research for Colonial Williamsburg. Dr. Riley succeeds A. Pierce Middleton, who resigned recently to become Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church at Brookfield, Connecticut.

LeRoy R. Hafen retired on July 1 as state historian of Colorado after thirty years of service. He has accepted a position as professor of history at Brigham Young University for the current academic year.

Robert P. Browder of the University of Colorado has been granted a faculty fellowship and is on leave of absence during the current academic year.

Kenneth M. Setton, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, has gone to Columbia University as professor of medieval history. He took up his new duties on July 1.

Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University is serving during the current year as Fulbright professor at the University of Turin, Italy.

The Rev. Carl S. Meyer has accepted appointment to the chair of historical theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

Richard Lowitt has been appointed assistant professor of history in Connecticut College, New London.

Eric C. Kollman, professor of history in Cornell College, Iowa, has been awarded a Fulbright grant for Germany, where he will serve as visiting professor at the University of Marburg for the current academic year.

Carl Stephenson retired as professor emeritus from Cornell University on July 1. Theodor E. Mommsen, formerly of Princeton University, has succeeded Dr. Stephenson as professor of history.

Promotions in the department of history at Denison University include William T. Utter, senior professor, Morton B. Stratton and Wyndham M. Southgate, professors, and Robert Seager II, assistant professor. William Preston, Jr., has been appointed instructor in history.

E. Malcolm Carroll, James B. Duke professor of history at Duke University, has been named chairman of the department of history.

In the department of history of East Tennessee State College Harold H. Dugger has been promoted to associate professor and James E. Sutton has been appointed assistant professor.

Arthur Tyson, formerly of East Texas Baptist College, has been named president of Mary Hardin-Baylor College, Belton, Texas.

Robert W. Rieke has been appointed instructor in history in Emory University.

Roderic H. Davison has been promoted to professor of history in George Washington University.

Stephen L. Speronis has been appointed assistant professor of history and Alan Jones, instructor at Grinnell College.

James D. van Putten has been named chairman of the department of history and political science in Hope College, Holland, Michigan. Paul G. Fried has been promoted to assistant professor of history.

E. E. Dale of the University of Oklahoma is serving as visiting professor of history in the University of Houston during the current year.

William S. Greever has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Idaho.

After thirty-four years of service at Indiana University, F. Lee Bennis retired as professor emeritus of history on September 30. Harold J. Grimm, formerly of the Ohio State University, has accepted the chairmanship of the department of history at Indiana. Robert R. Rea of Alabama Polytechnic Institute has been appointed visiting assistant professor of history for the year, and P. S. Wandycz, formerly research associate of the Mid-European Studies Center of New York, has been appointed instructor in history.

Robert W. Johannsen has accepted appointment as assistant professor of history at the University of Kansas.

In the history department of the University of Michigan William R. Leslie will be on sabbatical leave during the second semester. Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr., Stanley Mellon, and Stephen J. Tonsor have been appointed instructors.

John A. Garraty has been promoted to associate professor of history at Michigan State College. Robert E. Brown has been awarded the first Thomas Jefferson Fellowship granted by the alumni board of the trustees of the University of Virginia Endowment Fund.

At Mount Holyoke College Geoffrey Bruun has been appointed Florence Purington lecturer for the second semester of 1954-55. He will teach the advanced courses of Peter Viereck, who has a leave of absence for the year 1955. Professor Viereck has been appointed under a Fulbright grant to the new chair of American civilization and poetry at the University of Florence, Italy, for the second semester of 1954-55. Professor F. H. Cramer has a sabbatical leave for the first semester of the year, and Mr. Louis Cohn-Haft of Smith College has been appointed visiting instructor to teach one of his courses. David P. Leonard has been promoted to assistant professor of history.

At the University of Nevada Russell R. Elliott has been promoted to associate professor of history and political science. Wilbur S. Shepperson will be on leave of absence and will replace Alan Conway of the University College of Wales during the academic year 1954-55. Mr. Conway has received a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship and will spend the year in the United States.

Hans Heilbronner has been appointed instructor in history at the University of New Hampshire.

Louis G. Geiger of the University of North Dakota is in Finland for the year on a Fulbright lectureship at the University of Helsinki.

At Northwestern University, Arthur S. Link has been promoted to professor of history and George T. Romani to associate professor. Dr. Link has been ap-

pointed a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and is on leave during 1954-55. Robert B. Leard of the University of Wisconsin has been given a temporary appointment as instructor in history to replace Clarence L. Ver Steeg, who is on leave. Richard M. Brace has been awarded a Fulbright research fellowship and is attached to the faculty of arts and letters of the University of Paris during 1954-55. John W. Wilkes has been appointed instructor in history for the year.

Leslie F. Smith of the University of Oklahoma is spending the current year on a Fulbright research grant at the University of Oslo.

At the University of Oregon Earl S. Pomeroy is serving as acting chairman of the department of history in 1954-55. George E. Etue, Jr., has been appointed instructor in history. Gordon Wright has been granted leave of absence for the year to serve as visiting professor at Columbia University.

Crane Brinton, McLean professor of ancient and modern history at Harvard University, is serving as visiting professor of history at Pomona College during the first half of the academic year 1954-55.

William H. Nelson, formerly of the University of London and the University of Toronto, has been appointed assistant professor of history at the Rice Institute. Edmund T. Peckham has been promoted to assistant professor of history and has also been appointed assistant registrar of the Rice Institute.

Leland H. Carlson has resigned as associate professor of history in Northwestern University to become president of Rockford College.

Jack Roth has been promoted to assistant professor of history at Roosevelt College of Chicago, and Paul B. Johnson, formerly of the University of Chicago, has been appointed assistant professor of history.

Colin Rhys Lovell of the University of Southern California has been awarded a Fulbright grant to the Union of South Africa, where his sponsoring institution will be the University of Pretoria, commencing March, 1955; he will be on sabbatical leave 1955-56.

Harry Ammon of Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, is serving as a Fulbright lecturer at the University of Graz, Austria.

Gerhard Masur is on sabbatical leave from Sweet Briar College during the current year. He has received a grant from the Division of the Humanities of the Rockefeller Foundation for studies in the intellectual history of the twentieth century.

William M. Pearce has been named chairman of the department of history in Texas Technological College succeeding William Curry Holden, who will devote full time to teaching and directing the activities of the Tech Museum.

Philip C. F. Bankwitz has been appointed instructor in history at Trinity College, Hartford.

Elmer Y. Puryear, formerly of the University of North Carolina, has accepted appointment as instructor in history at West Virginia University.

RECENT DEATHS

Ella A. Hawkinson, formerly chairman of the department of history and political science in Hope College, Holland, Michigan, died on January 27, 1954.

William Scott Ferguson died at the age of seventy-nine, after a brief illness, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 28, 1954. For the Ph.D. degree at Cornell in 1898, when he was twenty-three, he published a thesis which proved that certain Athenian offices were distributed among the tribes in a fixed order of succession. This discovery became known as "Ferguson's Law." Its chronological importance for the Hellenistic period especially was obvious at once. In Berlin Ferguson and others developed the results, a study which still goes on. Few careers have begun more brilliantly. For a decade, Ferguson's published researches, at California and then at Harvard, continued to be largely epigraphical and apparently "special"; but in 1911 *Hellenistic Athens*, a work which dealt with every aspect of civilization, proved that ability in one line is often an index of ability in all. For the *Cambridge Ancient History* he wrote four chapters covering the second half of the Peloponnesian War, and he was also invited to introduce the first Hellenistic volume, for which *Greek Imperialism* (1913) had helped to provide a background. His works thereafter could nearly all be labeled with the bleak word, "monograph," but the incomplete list (*Harvard Stud. Class. Philol.* LI [1940], 1-9) shows that he could build up new truth in nearly every period and in a whole gamut of subjects, not excluding a useful synthesis for his presidential address to the American Historical Association (1940). Yet he never lost sight of what he thought was properly central in history: power, the power of men over other men and over themselves; the motives, the organization, the process, and the actual narrative, of the state. To this study and to all others he brought an extraordinary acuteness of insight. As dean of the Harvard Faculty for three years, he created a rational scheme of tenure whereby new appointments are independent of retirements. His teaching combined strictness and kindness; none of his Ph.D. students was led to think that research is easy, but they knew he was right as well as kind, and all were devoted. It is perhaps a tribute to their master that not all stayed in Hellenic studies, or even in strict scholarship; one has become president of Harvard.

George Hubbard Blakeslee, professor emeritus of history and international relations, Clark University, died at his home in Worcester, Massachusetts, on May 5 at the age of eighty-two. After graduation from Wesleyan University in 1893, he attended Johns Hopkins, the universities of Berlin, Leipzig, and Oxford,

and received his Ph.D. at Harvard in 1903. First appointed an instructor of history at Clark in 1903, he was instrumental in the development there of graduate work in his field and in that of international relations. Among his many activities in the latter field, he edited, with G. Stanley Hall, the *Journal of Race Relations*, eventually discontinued with the appearance of *Foreign Affairs*, with which he was associated as a member of the editorial board; he was president of the World Peace Foundation for sixteen years.

Combining active participation in diplomacy with teaching and writing, Dr. Blakeslee was an officer in the Department of State in 1921-22, 1931-32, 1942-52. After World War II he was a member of the United States delegation to the Far Eastern Commission. His review of its work, *The Far Eastern Commission, 1945-1952*, was published by the Department of State six months before his death.

His many students at Clark, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Harvard, and several other institutions where he taught part-time or lectured will remember him for his carefully prepared and open-minded lectures, but most of all for the unfailing courtesy and kindness with which he stimulated and guided them in their study and research.

Henry D. Sharpe, manufacturer of Providence, Rhode Island, died May 17 at the age of eighty-one. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1928.

Robert Howard Lord died at Brighton, Massachusetts, after a short illness, on May 22. Born at Plano, Illinois, in 1885, he studied at Northwestern University, then at Harvard, and later at the universities of Vienna, Berlin, and Moscow. After taking his Ph.D. at Harvard, he became an instructor and professor there, and won the love and admiration of his classes both by his admirably clear and convincing lectures and by his sympathetic interest in the problems of his students. His first important book, *The Second Partition of Poland* (1915), included a brilliant background sketch of the causes of the country's downfall. Four years later, as expert adviser to President Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference, he did perhaps more than anyone else toward restoring to Poland her independence and former frontiers. In *The Origins of the War of 1870* (1925), by meticulously using railroad time-tables as well as documents kept from the official German historian, von Sybel, he placed the famous Ems telegram in its proper perspective. Two years later he resigned his professorship at Harvard to become a Catholic and a priest, first in Boston and then until his death at Wellesley, Massachusetts. In his new work Mgrs. Lord joined the faculty of St. John's Seminary in Brighton, became its vice-rector in 1933, and also taught at Regis College in Weston. Continuing his scholarly work, he collaborated in publishing in 1945 a three-volume *History of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1604-1943*. He was the author of numerous historical articles, a member of many learned societies, and for sixteen years an influential trustee of the Boston Public Library. He will be remembered for his

distinguished scholarship, his personal sincerity and modesty, and his selfless service to others.

Waldemar Gurian, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame and former president of the Catholic Historical Association, died on May 26, 1954. Of Russian birth (1902), he was educated in Holland and Germany. As a young man he came under the influence of Max Scheler, Carl Schmitt, Romano Guardini, and, later, of Jacques Maritain and Don Sturzo. Gurian happily combined a flair for the work of the publicist with scholarly activity. His major works were published in Germany: *The Political and Social Ideas of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (1929) and *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice* (1931). The latter, one of the major works for the understanding of Soviet communism, was translated into many languages and presented in shorter and more up-to-date form in *Bolshevism: An Introduction to Soviet Communism* (1952). He founded the *Review of Politics* in 1939 and was its editor until his death. He was the chairman of the Notre Dame Committee on International Relations and the founder of its Center for Eastern European and Soviet Studies. He fled Germany in 1934 and three years later came to Notre Dame.

Robert Gale Woolbert died at Greeley, Colorado, on June 3, 1954. Born in Albion, Michigan, in 1903, he graduated from the University of Illinois in 1924. He continued in graduate work at the University of Chicago and at Harvard, where he took the doctorate in 1935. His teaching, to which he brought both warmth and a stimulating intelligence, was done largely in two periods, first as assistant for some years at Radcliffe and Harvard, and later as professor at the University of Denver, and its Social Science Foundation, after 1941. From 1935 to 1941 he was research associate of the Council on Foreign Relations and assistant editor of *Foreign Affairs*. In this capacity he was responsible for the quarterly bibliographies and compiled the *Foreign Affairs Bibliography . . . 1932-1942*; It is for these incisive judgments on books that he will be long remembered professionally. His primary research interest was in European imperialism in Africa, a field which as Bayard Cutting Fellow he studied in Italy and North Africa, and in which his contribution was made in numerous articles and pamphlets.

Alruthus Ambush Taylor, research professor of American history at Fisk University and a member of this Association, died in Nashville, Tennessee, June 4, in his sixty-second year. A native of the District of Columbia and a product of its public schools, he received the degree of bachelor of arts with a major in mathematics from the University of Michigan in 1916. While teaching at the West Virginia Collegiate Institute he became intimately acquainted with Carter G. Woodson; and his interest in history grew from this association. Woodson urged him to pursue graduate work in the field. In 1923 he received the degree of master of arts in history from Harvard University; and in 1935 the same institution conferred upon him the degree of doctor of philosophy.

In 1923 Professor Taylor became the first full-time investigator for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; and in the following year the Association published his *The Negro in South Carolina during Reconstruction*. Two years later his *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia* appeared. These works may be regarded as pioneer efforts among the revisionist school of historians of the Reconstruction. In 1941 he published *The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880*; and at the time of his death he had just completed his history of Fisk University, where he was dean and professor for twenty-eight years.

Joseph Minton Batten, professor of church history at the Vanderbilt School of Religion, and member of the American Historical Association since 1927, died June 10, 1954.

J. Adger Stewart, corporation executive, manufacturer, art patron, and historian, died June 15 at the age of seventy-seven. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1950.

Edward Mead Earle, professor of history at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, died in New York on June 23. Born in New York City in May, 1894, he graduated from Columbia University with highest honors in 1917. He then entered the military service and rose to the rank of first lieutenant in the U. S. Army. Following the war, he was employed for a brief period by the National City Bank, but he became lecturer in history at Columbia in 1920, took his doctoral degree there in 1923, and remained on the faculty until 1934, when he was appointed professor at the Institute.

Throughout his career, Edward Mead Earle was able to combine productive scholarship and public service to a degree equaled by few in his profession. He established himself as a scholar of importance in 1923 with the publication of his *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway: A Study in Imperialism*. From then until the end of his career he was interested in foreign and military affairs in their broadest aspects. *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler*, which appeared under his editorial direction in 1943, was considered by reviewers to be not only an outstanding history of the evolution of strategical thought but also a work which marked the beginning of a more sophisticated approach to military problems in general. This was recognized by the armed services as well as by the historical profession; and Professor Earle was a frequent lecturer at the Army War College, the Army Industrial College, and other staff colleges in this country, and at the Joint Services College, the Imperial Defence College, and the Royal Naval War College in Great Britain. Among Professor Earle's many publications in the nonmilitary field were *Nationalism and Internationalism: Essays Inscribed to Carlton J. H. Hayes*, of which he was editor and co-author in 1950, and *Modern France: Problems of the Third and Fourth Republics*, which he edited in 1951. He was Stafford Little

Lecturer at Princeton in 1941, Lamont Lecturer at Yale in 1945, and Chichele Lecturer at Oxford in 1950.

During the Second World War, Professor Earle served with the Office of Strategic Services, was special consultant to the Commanding General, Army Air Forces, and was on temporary duty with the 8th and 9th Air Forces, USSAF, in 1944-1945. In 1951 he was special consultant to the Supreme Commander, Allied Powers, Europe. He was awarded the Presidential Medal for Merit for war service in 1946 and was made Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1948.

No account of Edward Mead Earle's career would be complete without some mention of his work in stimulating new approaches to historical problems. Through his seminars at the Institute, he brought European and American scholars into mutually beneficial contact. He was always, moreover, keenly aware of the problems which face young scholars and, by making fellowship grants available to them for independent work at the Institute, sought to relieve them from the burden of teaching at critical moments in their scholarly development.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The reviewer of my book *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923*, Vol. 3, in your April issue accuses me of following, on the first page of my book, "the official Stalinist distortion of Lenin's remark of 1915 about revolution in one country." If he had read the footnote, and looked up the passage from Lenin quoted in full in the appendix, he would have seen that Lenin's remark referred to in the text came, not from the famous "socialism in one country" article of August 1915, later distorted by Stalin, but from an article of October 1915 in which Lenin predicted the foreign policy of a Russian proletarian government; this is wholly free from Stalinist distortion, since Stalin never quoted it. Your reviewer has discovered a mare's nest.

Balliol College, Oxford

E. H. CARR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I regret the misunderstanding which led me to attribute to Professor Carr a view which, I am glad to learn, he does not hold. It is unfortunate that in Professor Carr's initial reference to this material his position on the subtle socialism-in-one-country issue was not made clearer, so as to rule out such a misinterpretation.

Indiana University

ROBERT V. DANIELS

Editor's Notes

For book reviews the *Review* has long followed the policy of selecting a reviewer, giving him complete freedom (except as to length, grammar, and the laws of libel) to write his estimate as he sees fit. We believe in this policy and

will continue it, though, as Schlesinger, Langer, and others suggested twenty-two years ago, we hope the reviewer will review the book and save his own essays for his own works. This policy means, of course, that the *Review* is not responsible, except that its editor chooses the reviewer, for the reviewer's expressions of opinion, however favorable or unfavorable these may be.

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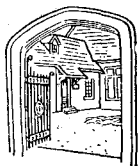
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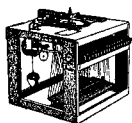
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